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Paper Discerns 'Anti-CSSR Campaign' in FRG

AU0910164489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Karel Doudera commentary: "According to an Old Pattern?"]

[Text] I am not one of the youngest of people. I have seen many springs and summers, including those of 1938. Therefore, when some West German newspapers, especially those of the Springer concern, began to spread anti-Czechoslovak feelings in the last few days, it reminded me a bit too much of old patterns. Although the CSSR Government has considerably contributed towards a humane resolution to the problem of the GDR citizens [at the FRG Embassy in Prague] by letting them depart for the FRG and has been flexibly dealing with a number of problems linked with this, part of the West German press has been accusing it of "inhumanity" and even wants to "put it in the pillory before the whole world."

The West German press has used as a pretext a few nudges, thrusts, and isolated cases of truncheons being used against GDR citizens seeking, by besieging the FRG Embassy in Prague, to emigrate to the FRG. What the West German papers are suppressing, however, is the fact that members of the National Security Corps had the uneasy task of coping with a difficult situation in the narrow streets of Mala Strana [Little Quarter; part of Prague where the West German Embassy is situated], caused by thousands of mostly young GDR citizens who had crowded together there and some of whom were deliberately stirring up provocations and violating public order. Contrary to the truth, they now write that, supposedly, "Czech policemen beat Germans like cattle."

I remember and with me, I believe, everyone who experienced the years 1937 and 1938 that the German press at that time wrote about Czechoslovakia in a similar manner. Each action by the Czech police against [Sudeten German leader] Henlein's provocations used to be exaggerated and described as "bestial anti-German terror." Each pub brawl during which some follower of the Greater German Reich received a few slaps in the face from Czech patriots used to be blown out of all proportions and our nation was branded as "ranting Hussite rabble."

It is true that the West German press does not as yet go so far as to describe us in this way. It seems, nonetheless, that those who would once again like to foment an anti-Czechoslovak campaign have learned quite a lot from those old patterns.

GDR Citizens Continue To Enter FRG Embassy

Situation 'Calm' 6 Oct

AU0910152489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 pp 1, 7

["mik, dam, is"-signed report: "Situation Around the FRG Embassy Gradually Becoming Calm"]

[Excerpts] Prague/Bonn/Berlin (from our correspondents)—According to sources at the FRG Embassy in Prague, "only a minimum number of GDR citizens" was staying on the FRG Embassy compound in Prague Thursday [5 October] evening. In the late afternoon about 200 GDR citizens left the embassy building and decided to return to the GDR, on the basis of GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel's assurance that they would be allowed to legally depart for the FRG within 2 months. These people had been let inside the mission Thursday morning.

During the day, ever new groups of GDR citizens were emerging in the streets around the FRG Embassy compound and demanding admission into the mission, which was granted to them.

Everything suggests that these GDR citizens had been on the territory of our republic prior to the decision of the GDR Government on Tuesday [3 October] to temporarily restrict GDR citizens' travel to the CSSR. Evidently, they also include some GDR citizens who have crossed our borders illegally in the last few hours.

As was stated by Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Interior, attempts to illegally cross Czechoslovak borders are being registered on an increased scale now. Some 400 GDR citizens who had illegally entered our territory have been returned to the GDR by CSSR border guards and border protection units these days. Additional measures are being taken to enhance the protection of Czechoslovak state borders.

Czechoslovak citizens in possession of a valid travel document can travel to the GDR without any restrictions, as heretofore.

As CTK announced on Thursday, regular international express trains arriving from the GDR were delayed by up to 5 hours on Wednesday [4 October], due to more thorough checks by the GDR authorities. Throughout Thursday, the situation gradually normalized, this included railroad traffic.

Press agencies report from the FRG that all trains with GDR citizens on board that had been dispatched from Prague arrived in the Bavarian border town of Hof by Thursday morning. According to the press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Transportation, a total of 8 trains with approximately 7,500 GDR citizens had been dispatched from Prague. [passage omitted]

Our Prague correspondent reports that the staff of the Prague Communications organization are cleaning sidewalks and roads in the vicinity of the FRG mission; to prevent public premises from being polluted, mobile lavatories have been put up in the Na Trzisti Street.

The granting of asylum at the FRG Embassy in the CSSR runs counter to the mission and functions of representative missions. This irresponsible activity has not only created a difficult situation in Prague, but it could also have a negative influence on relations between the CSSR and the FRG, Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, told a news conference in Prague on Thursday.

The temporary suspension of visa and passport-free travel for GDR citizens is a move that should contribute to a solution of the situation. Those who will try to illegally cross the border to Czechoslovakia cannot count on a friendly reception by our authorities, he added.

L. Marsik, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared that only insignificant injuries had occurred during the stay by GDR citizens at the FRG Embassy in Prague and that the persons affected had all been treated directly on the premises. No one was hospitalized in Czechoslovakia and everyone has left the country.

In conclusion, M. Pavel responded to the view that the presence of members of the National Security Corps in the area of the FRG Embassy was inappropriate. He declared that it was also thanks to their restrained attitude that there were no major incidents, despite the great concentration of people. At the same time he expressed the hope that such a situation will not be repeated. [passage omitted]

30 Citizens Seek Refuge 8 Oct

AU0810142289 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] A group of about 30 GDR citizens has sought refuge in the FRG Embassy in Prague again. According to an embassy staff member, those who have sought refuge do not accept the offer of GDR attorney Vogel, which envisages their return to the GDR prior to their emigration to the West.

Contrary to statements of the CSSR Government, the entrance to the FRG Embassy is currently being controlled from a distance. Above all, vehicles are reportedly being stopped and checked. In an interview with the daily DIE WELT, Premier Adamec had guaranteed free access to the mission.

Security Forces Patrol Periphery

LD0910102589 Hamburg DPA in German 0950 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—At present there are about 30 GDR citizens in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Prague. Between 5 and 20 refugees are registering there daily, it was said.

However, the surrounding area of the mission is still being patrolled by CSSR security forces. Most of the GDR resettlers, who get through nevertheless, wish to take up the offer made by the East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, who had gave an assurance that those who wish to leave could leave the country with their families if they returned to the GDR. Personal data is being taken down in the Bonn Representation for this purpose. [passage omitted]

Prague Radio Views Situation

LD0810112489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 8 Oct

[Excerpt] It is time now for a regular Sunday comment on foreign policy. The author is Frantisek Prachar.

[Prachar] The events of the past week summarized, generally speaking, probably the most important processes which are currently under way in the world. A growing tendency for understanding and detente was confirmed on a number of occasions—as was illustrated by a visit of Soviet Minister of Defense Yazov to the United States. Nevertheless, attempts were also made to destabilize socialism as a system, to disrupt the process of changes and reforms in socialist countries which are improving our social and political system, and in many ways renewing its potential.

From this point of view a campaign launched in the FRG in the context of some GDR citizens' exodus from their country is rather illuminating and illustrative enough.

Their transient and illegal stay at the FRG Embassy in Prague, in particular the measures linked to their departure, were described as a sort of litmus paper, allegedly signalling what is the real state of democracy in Czechoslovakia—and this not only by the mass media based West from our borders, but also by politicians.

Many West German newspapers, television, and radio companies tried to steal a march from each other in describing distorted episodes of climbing over fences, checks, bans etc. An open falsification of reality also occurred when one of the dailies published by the Springer press concern wrote that Germans had been beaten like cattle in Prague. The reality confirmed by Ladislav Adamec, premier of our federal government, in his interview for DIE WELT, that the entrance gate of the FRG Embassy enjoyed and enjoys free access was somehow omitted in these reports.

In this context a reflection is just offering itself: What would the reaction be in the FRG if somebody tried to misuse the situation which had been created and resorted to a provocation aimed at interferring with the ex-territorial status of their Embassy and the diplomatic immunity of its employees in Prague? [passage omitted]

Adamec Says FRG Embassy 'Freely Accessible'

AU0710203489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 7-8 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by Manfred Schell: "The Main Entrance of the Bonn Embassy Remains Accessible"—date and place not given]

[Text] DIE WELT: What motives were decisive for you to permit refugees from the GDR to enter Bonn's Embassy in Prague and finally allow them to emigrate to the FRG?

Adamec: In accordance with international practice, the buildings of the diplomatic missions in Prague basically are freely accessible. That also holds true for the embassy of the Federal Republic. Naturally we cannot speak about free access if somebody climbs over the fence in order to get into the embassy building. The main entrance is the proper way and it will remain freely accessible. Whether it is closed is decided by the ambassador alone.

The CSSR has assumed from the start that the refugee problem is an affair to be settled by the two German states, and we have made it clear that it is impossible for the GDR citizens to go to the Federal Republic directly. We have also said from the start that we will help implement any agreement that may be achieved between the GDR and the FRG. Meanwhile, the CSSR has given the FRG Embassy in Prague the necessary humanitarian, medical, technical, and other aid on the government level and through the CSSR Red Cross. Humanitarian reasons have been decisive for all initiatives and activities of the CSSR Government. Another serious reason was the fact that the refugees from the GDR practically blocked life in a part of Prague and jeopardized public order, traffic, cleanliness, and hygiene. I am unhappy to see that the press of the Federal Republic has leveled totally irrelevant attacks on the CSSR in this connection. Without the restraint exercised by the CSSR security organs, all of this could have ended tragically, given this high concentration of people in such a small space.

DIE WELT: Does the CSSR Government believe that the matter is concluded with this second comprehensive exodus?

Adamec: The key to the solution of this problem lies with the Federal Republic. If it continues to misuse its diplomatic mission in Prague for granting asylum to GDR citizens—which is inconsistent with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Missions of 1961—a similar situation may develop at any time. That may meet with the temporary interests of some politicians in the Federal Republic. However, in the long run, such action can only be harmful—not only to the relations between the CSSR and the FRG, but also to Europe as a whole and to the idea of security and cooperation.

DIE WELT: How do you assess the GDR's decision to suspend passport- and visa-free tourist travel to the CSSR?

Adamec: That is certainly a temporary solution. Visa-free tourist travel has existed between the CSSR and the GDR since 1967. We are convinced that the situation will be back to normal and everything will be as it was before. The CSSR's policy in this direction is clear. We want more freedom of travel: regarding the travel of CSSR citizens abroad, as well as visits of foreigners to the CSSR.

Days of Bavarian Economy Open in Prague

AU0610161289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 1

["al"-signed report: "An Advanced Economy on Display"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—The Days of Bavarian Economy in Czechoslovakia, in which the neighboring land, the largest of the FRG's 11 laender, wants to acquaint our experts and the general public with the successes of its advanced industry and with what it has to offer, were officially opened in the Palace of Culture in Prague on Wednesday [4 October].

The agenda of the event is literally full to bursting—there will be almost 80 symposiums for experts. Thirty-seven firms will be displaying their varied wares at exhibition stalls. Exhibitions illustrating life in Bavaria in its historical cities as well as its picturesque rural areas, will be held for the general public, there will be competitions with prizes, and so forth.

Opening the event, CSSR Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Sterba stressed our interest in expanding economic cooperation with Bavaria and added that the event, the first of its kind in Czechoslovakia, can contribute to this aim as a venue of informal exchanges of views. The same opinion was expressed by August Lang, Bavarian minister of economy and transport.

There was a time when the view prevailed in our country that neighboring Bavaria is a rural country. This is still true, but only 8 percent of Bavaria's population works in its advanced agriculture at present. The rest is employed in modern industrial branches and in services.

The opening ceremony was attended by Frantisek Pitra, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic and Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Hermann Huber, FRG ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

Bavarian minister A. Lang had a busy working day yesterday. He conferred with Ivan Knotek, Czech Socialist Republic Premier Frantisek Pitra, Czech Socialist Republic First Deputy Premier Miroslav Toman, and other Czechoslovak officials about the possibilities of a more intensive economic cooperation. The Days of the Bavarian Economy will last until Saturday [7 October].

Stepan Ends Sofia Visit, Comments on Refugees

AU0610211989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent's report: "Todor Zhivkov Received M. Stepan"]

[Text] Sofia—Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's

Republic, received on Wednesday [4 October] Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, who was heading a delegation of the Prague CPCZ City Committee on a working visit to Sofia.

The two representatives briefed one another about the course of restructuring in their countries and the specific results that have been accomplished in this respect. They stressed the significance of the changes now taking place in all socialist countries and spoke about the new tasks of socialism as a whole.

M. Stepan briefed the supreme Bulgarian representative about the activity of Czechoslovak communists and working people in further developing the socialist society in Czechoslovakia and about preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Later in the day, he met with Bulgarian journalists. He spoke also about the activation of antisocialist forces and cited as an example the actions around the FRG Embassy in Prague. He called attention to the fact that this is an attempt to return in international relations to methods that are an outdated remnant of the past. He described as its aim the endeavor to cast doubt on the entire 40 years of the GDR's existence.

The Prague CPCZ City Committee delegation concluded its visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic the same day.

Jakes Attends GDR 40th Anniversary Events

Meets Ortega in Berlin

LD0610204989 Prague CTK in English 1608 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin Oct 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes met here today with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

They informed each other of the developments in their countries. Milos Jakes in this connection voiced Czechoslovakia's support for Nicaragua's struggle for social progres and independence.

Milos Jakes met on the same day with Politburo member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Egon Krenz for talks on extending cooperation between the two parties.

Talks With PDRY Leader

LD0710154789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] GDR—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, who is participating in celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in Berlin, met today 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee. During the discussion they briefed each other about the situation in their countries and discussed the development of cooperation between the two parties.

Sees SRV's Nguyen Van Linh

LD0710223389 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin Oct 7 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes met here today with general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Nguyen Van Linh.

They informed each other of the course of reforms in their countries and expressed interest in all-round cooperation between the two parties.

Returns to Prague 8 Oct

LD0810175189 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes returned here last night from Berlin where he headed a Czechoslovak party and government delegation attending celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic.

GDR 40th Anniversary Marked in Prague

AU1010094589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "New Stimuli For the Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague—A ceremonial gathering organized by the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the Czech Socialist Republic Central Committee, the National Front City Committee in Prague, and the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations was held in Prague on Thursday [5 October] on the occasion of the GDR's National Day—the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

Rudolf Dusek, deputy chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, inaugurated the assembly after the CSSR and GDR national anthems.

After 40 years of its development, it is possible, without any doubt, to regard the evolution of the German Democratic Republic on 7 October 1949 as the greatest achievement of the revolutionary German workers' movement as well as marking our entry into the new post-war history of Europe, commented Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier. The new and, at the same time, first German workers' and peasants' state had evolved on German soil. Its main goal was the elimination of fascism and the creation of a better and just society for all the working people. Czechoslovakia, as one of the first countries, recognized the German Democratic Republic on 19 October 1949. The useful and bilaterally beneficial cooperation between our countries also dates from this period.

Despite the constant efforts of reactionary forces to overturn progressive development in the German Democratic Republic and to raise the issue of its existence, the people of the German Democratic Republic have always managed to unite their strengths for further development. During the 40 years of the GDR's existence, the country's new modern capital city and a number of plants and enterprises have developed. Equally convincing are the results of the modernization of industry, the number of new modern technological elements, and the concentrated approach toward the development of electronics and the issues of scientific-technical development. In the same way, we could also talk about the number of apartments that have been built and the development of services. The GDR's results and successes in the majority of sporting activities and so on are well known throughout the world.

He also recalled the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War and the painful events for us such as the occupation of Czechoslovakia by fascist Germany. In this connection, he appraised the German Democratic Republic's active and consistent foreign policy which proceeds from the aim of ensuring that "no more wars ever break out on German soil."

Just like the other progressive forces in the world, the activation of neo-fascist forces in the countries of Western Europe disturbs us. The repeated attempts to destabilize the German Democratic Republic, to revitalize greater-German ideas, and to cast doubts upon its sovereignty and present borders seem to us to be all the more dangerous. Recently, we have witnessed similar campaigns on the part of the mass information media of some Western countries. It is necessary to confront these attacks on peace and security, mutual understanding, on progress in detente and disarmament, and on the process which is the only one that will bring the prospects of peaceful and universal development to mankind.

We are in favor of intensifying common peace efforts, of asserting the new political thinking in international relations, of creating a new security situation and new level of cooperation in Europe. We are in favor of this in all spheres. For many years, in close unity with the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states, we have actively presented our policy of greater cooperation, trust, and the assertion of real disarmament. Our joint and absolutely concrete contributions to the matter of strengthening peaceful cooperation and to developing an active dialogue between East and West are the joint CSSR and GDR initiatives for establishing a nuclear free corridor and a zone without chemical weapons in Europe, our decision to reduce armed forces, armaments, and military budgets, decisions adopted by the USSR, our countries, and the other socialist states, as well as the proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries. We welcomed the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting and we understand this to be a qualitatively new step on the road of the development of political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation in Europe. However, we decidedly reject the attempts of some political circles in the West to interfere in our internal affairs and to influence our development from outside under the guise of Vienna.

Bohumil Urban further highlighted the fundamental significance of the meeting in Prague between the general secretaries of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Comrades Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker—for the development of cooperation not only between our fraternal parties but also between our two countries. We are gradually and purposefully implementing a number of projects and proposals on which both representatives agreed. This indicates the usefulness and, at the same time, the necessity of a regular exchange of views, particularly, at this time which we must characterize as a period of searching for further effective methods for developing socialism.

Collaboration between our fraternal parties, the CPCZ and the SED, is close and confidential. Characteristic of this is the search for new forms of collaboration and for improving the quality of its contents in the spirit of the demands of today's highly dynamic period. We are prepared for its further intensification. Evidence of our successfully developing cooperation was provided by the recent visit made by the federal premier to the GDR. This visit contributed concrete results in the form of concluding new treaty documents which establish new possibilities for expanding, first and foremost, our economic relations.

In another part of his speech Bohumil Urban appraised the significance of economic cooperation for our mutual relations. The GDR is our third largest trading partner. Last year the mutual exchange of goods exceeded R3 billion. This exchange of goods is useful for both countries and has an immediate impact on increasing the choice of goods available in our domestic markets. However, at the same time, we see the existing unused resources and the demanding tasks which await us. This is so because the volume of the simple exchange of goods has been practically exhausted and we must see our future cooperation lying in closer and more flexible cooperation between producers, in collaboration, and in purposeful specialization. We have established a solid foundation in the long-term program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic up to the year 2000 for the further dynamic development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

High intensity and a traditionally good standard classify our cooperation in the cultural, educational, and health care spheres, said Bohumil Urban. New dimensions are beginning to manifest themselves in cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection. We do not intend to underestimate this vitally important sphere. By its active stance the German Democratic Republic has contributed to the Czechoslovak proposal for a meeting on environmental issues involving the heads of government of the states neighboring the CSSR. A specific result is the tripartite agreement on cooperation in the environmental sphere which was signed by the GDR, Polish, and CSSR heads of government.

We have started our intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, preparations which require comprehensive theoretical, political, and organizational work from the whole party. We are following the GDR's preparations for the SED's upcoming 12th congress with interest. Our joint priority goal is to prepare the mutual coordination of national economic plans on such a level that they correspond to the tasks which the near and more distant future places immediately before us, said Bohumil Urban. He wished the GDR's people and their Socialist Unity Party many further successes in the construction of a socialist society and he expressed his desire for the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our fraternal parties, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, cordially thanked the leadership of the Czechoslovak party and state for their display of friendship. In another part of his speech he characterized the results of GDR development during the past 40 years.

Under socialist conditions, the GDR has managed to secure a place among the leading industrial states. This fact will confirm our intention of continuing further along this designated road.

Peace, security, and cooperation in Europe can only prevail if both sides have the political will for it, said H. Ziebart further. The attempts to violate, under the guise of humanity, the sovereign rights of other states and to crudely interfere in their internal affairs undermine cooperation and threaten peace. The orchestrated slanderous campaign against the GDR, CSSR, and other socialist states is indicative of this today. The psychological war which certain circles have again unleashed, serve the old imperialist strategy with the aim of wiping out socialism as a social system. The supporters of this ideological crusade are more and more casting off their masks of politeness. When the mist of their humanitarian gestures disperses, obviously, the old revanchist demands calling for the 1937 borders will manifest themselves.

The traditions of the joint struggle of the German and Czechoslovak working class against fascism and imperialism were recalled in the final part of the gathering.

Many German anti-fascists found their first asylum in the CSSR when faced with fascism.

The GDR is entering the fifth decade of its existence with the resolution to continue in what has already been proven and to overcome what slows it down. Our resolve to defend the achievements, values, and ideals of our socialist system also belong to this.

In conclusion the GDR ambassador to the CSSR, on behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Government, gave the assurance that the GDR will unwaveringly continue in its course of materially strengthening socialism and of reliably guaranteeing peace. He stressed that the resolve to further improve the efficiency of comprehensive fraternal ties with the CSSR is a significant element of this intention.

A delegation from the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and the CSSR Government headed by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, participated in the meeting. Bohuslav Kucera and Zbynek Zalman, chairmen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party, were also present.

GDR Ambassador on GDR Brand of Socialism

AU0610211389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Vitezslav Havlicek: "Years of Fruitful Cooperation"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the upcoming 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, we asked Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR, for an interview. [passage omitted]

[Havlicek] Lately, from the West there resound assertions that the GDR and the CSSR, allegedly, are not pushing the course of restructuring with sufficient energy. What does this look like from your country's point of view?

[Ziebart] It is obvious that such assertions are coordinated, as are also the appropriately paid circles that do not want to improve socialism, but want to return to capitalism. After all, it is strange that it is precisely those who are calling for reforms today who did not want genuine reforms, such as, for example, the land reform, the reform of education, or the reform of the administrative apparatus, that is, reforms which we have carried out over the past 40 years and which were a thorn in their side.

Whoever takes a look honestly and without prejudice at the development in the GDR and, after all, in your country, too, must admit that the fundamental, in-depth political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural changes have been carried out.

No one in the GDR claims that our socialism has already been completed. We are very well aware of our problems, and of the tasks which we face. We want to exert all our energy to resolve them. However, we ourselves want to determine when and how we will implement theoretically and conceptually well-prepared reforms, and we will not let anybody interfere in this.

In our policy of continuity and renewal, we still adhere to the principle of going ahead with everything that has been tried-and- tested and throwing overboard everything that inhibits our progress. For us, the main criterion of reforms always was and is the question: What benefits and what harms socialism? [passage omitted]

GDR To 'Find Answers' To Own Problems

LD0910204889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] How does the GDR assess the progress of celebrations of the 40th anniversary of foundation of this first state of workers and peasants on the German soil? Slavomir Malickaj, our correspondent in Berlin, now reports:

[Malickaj] The GDR will pursue its policy of continuity and renewal—this idea could frequently be heard during the present celebrations. The GDR, in the 40 years of its existence, has achieved good results both in the eocnomic and social spheres. On the other hand, it is also obvious that, just as in any other country's development, new questions have emerged here, too. The GDR stresses that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in cooperation with other forces, will find answers to them. The GDR, however, intends to solve its problems itself, by its own means. The GDR is not interested in the various instructions, which can be heard from the FRG, above all, and which would result in weakening socialism.

Today there are reports of various attempts to disturb the celebrations in various cities of the GDR last weekend. Security units had to intervene. The question has often been asked: Who are the young people who have participated in the illegal demonstrations, and how are they influenced by the environment and the family? JUNGE WELT asks rightly: Is it not more sensible to seek a dialogue, even if the partners do not understand each other straightaway, rather than provocations?

Creation of HSP in Budapest 'Surprise'

LD0810222289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] We shall begin this bulletin in Budapest where Tomas Borec, our correspondent, has been following the proceedings of the Congress of the newly established Hungarian Socialist Party:

[Borec] The banner hanging on the building of the congressional center this morning was still welcoming delegates to the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, although this was no longer true. Many had been expecting the establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Party yesterday, the 2d day of the Congress. Despite this it caused a surprise. Some observers have been linking it with the well thought-out arrangements already carried out by the reform wing during the preparations of the Congress, as well as with the low—less than 3.5 percent—workers' representation amongst the delegates.

Today's proceedings opened with the program change, when the delegates gave priority to the debate on the new party's statutes. Originally they were to provide only written observations on the policy statement but here, too, the delegates voiced their desire to hold a debate. After all, what kind the new party is to be is at issue. Although Rezso Nyers indicated in his speech yesterday that this would be a left wing socialist party of the West European type, which principle will be democratic socialism, many are still not yet clear about what this really is to mean. For instance, today's issue of the daily NEPSZABADSAG, from which front page the slogan "Proletarians Of All Countries Unite" was promptly removed, the reader (Agnes Hankiss) wrote: I am following the Congress but do not believe in the generally emphasized democratic socialism. Neither do I know what those who have been using this term are thinking of.

A great deal of time has been used in the Congress today on the unification of views among different platforms outside the halls where the debates are held. There was a great deal of activity going on in the backstage rooms where various statements were also made. For instance, Karoly Grosz said that the establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Party was a step back which does not solve any problems. Vice Premier Peter Medgyessy has not, as yet, decided whether he will become a member of the new party, since according to him the compromise that has come about was not convincing enough and does not answer questions concerning ownership and privatization. Imre Pozsgay is satisfied with the existing results, declaring that the Hungarian Socialist Party will apply for membership in the Socialist International. According to him, members who do not agree with the new party's program should leave. And it is these whom the Janos Kadar Society would want to take under its wing, a society which, according to today's announcement, wants to establish a Communist Party. It can be expected that the Congress will today also elect leading representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Jakes Congratulates Nyers

LD1010114789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Rezso Nyers on his election to the post of the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party. In the telegram he expressed the conviction that the traditional comradely cooperation between progressive forces, which has always played a positive role in mutual relations, will be maintained between the two parties and will continue to be developed for the benefit of good-neighborly relations, friendship, socialism, and peace.

Prague TV on Hungary's 'Authoritarian Advice'

LD0810233989 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Our first report is from Hungary. Yesterday evening a few minutes before 7:30 [1830 GMT] the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Congress approved, after day-long discussions, the founding of a new Hungarian Socialist Party. [passage omitted]

Although the congress and the news conferences have avoided putting labels on the members of their movements, a meeting with foreign newsmen was addressed by Laszlo Major and Central Committee Secretaries Janos Barabas and Jeno Kovacs at which the Czechoslovak, Romanian, and GDR parties were labelled the strictly hardline [macosskyj] fraternal parties, and from the Congress rostrum NEPSZABADSAG Editor in Chief Pal Eotvos labelled RUDE PRAVO, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND as Stalinist-type party dailies. [passage omitted]

So, all kinds of news is coming out of Budapest today, most of it sketchy. It will probably be necessary to wait for more detailed news. As far as the attacks on certain communist parties and their press organs are concerned, including RUDE PRAVO, even though these attacks were made by individuals in an undoubtedly heady atmosphere, it should be noted that these same individuals take a very dim view when people in other countries make judgments on their activities, and angrily invoke the principle of noninterference in other states' and parties' affairs. On the other hand, when they themselves feel like dishing out advice and labels, they soon forget this principle. For instance, they call themselves anti-Stalinists, but dishing out authoritarian advice and labels was, in fact, a feature of Stalinism.

Court Rejects Chartist's Demand for Correction

AU0810215289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 3

["(RP)"-signed report: "Later an Armed Struggle, Too; Concerning a Certain Lawsuit"]

[Text] Last year our newspaper published an article entitled Adventurist From the So-Called Fourth International—Under the Mask of Pseudo-Revolutionary Phrases (18 June 1988) about Engineer Petr Uhl, one of the leading "Chartists" and a supporter of Trotskyist pseudorevolutionary ideas.

Let us also note the fact that the article discussed a group of people who at one time (1969) oriented themselves in mutual collaboration toward compiling and diseminating various documents and leaflets whose contents were intended to whip up disagreement with and resistance against the socialist social system and the state organs' efforts to consolidate political and economic conditions in the republic. Ideas of an armed struggle against the socialist social system were also manifested in these papers. The group was legally condemned for this activity in 1971. Petr Uhl was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment.

Petr Uhl objected to the article and demanded that the editorial office issue a correction. When he was not accommodated, he turned to the court, to which, at the same time, he complained that "untrue allegations were made" in the above-mentioned report. American radio stations have commented many times on Uhl's request for a published correction. Why? Obviously, they do not want the above- named person to lapse into obscurity.

It is indisputable that Uhl made the main contribution to the activity of that entire antistate group. Nothing alters this, not even the fact that he was not tried for his participation in discussing plans to seize Czechoslovak Radio and broadcast an antigovernment proclamation, or that his participation in the discussions on seizing Czechoslovak Radio was not proved, even during the hearing on his lawsuit for the publication of a newspaper correction.

In the extremist group's so-called policy statement, a group whose main organizer was Uhl himself, it is written in black and white: "...it is necessary to establish a united front of popular resistance which will concentrate all antibureaucratic forces. Individual organizations and groups must engage in dual activity: a) internal: study, instruction, discussion, construction of the organization; b) external: leaflets, posters, demonstrations, strikes, workers' control, and we do not even exclude the possibility of an armed struggle...."

The RUDE PRAVO article also recalled the attempt to break into Czechoslovak Radio and the attempt to broadcast an antigovernment proclamation.... This is not a fabrication. The fact that there was a real plan has been confirmed by Petr Lukacovic, an associate of Uhl, in his testimony: "...Sometime in mid-November 1969, when I was traveling from Suchdol with Basta, I found out from him that he and Cierny were preparing an action, an action which would count on the fact that during the night of 31 December-1 January 1970 a small group of people would break into the radio building to broadcast some kind of proclamation to the public. Of the details, I remember that Basta talked about the need for weapons to carry out this action...."

"...During the first half of November 1969...." as Marie Daskova, a member of Uhl's group, recalled, "we talked in Jaroslav Basta's room about seizing the radio building in Prague. Those present included myself, M. Daskova, J. Basta, Jaroslav Suk, and Egon Cierny.... We talked about the means for carrying out the above- mentioned seizure, means such as getting past the porter, closing the building and posting the guard, entering the studio, setting up and connecting the tape recorder with the recorded text of the proclamation, and then exiting from the radio building's rear entrance with the guards...."

The activity of Uhl's group belongs to the past. Nevertheless, the lesson from it remains.

CPCZ Cooperation With Other Parties Discussed

AU0610153289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "A Meeting of Party Regional Committee Secretaries"]

[Text] Prague—A meeting of the secretaries responsible for political and organizational work from party regional and city committees in Prague and Bratislava took place on Wednesday [4 October] under the chairmanship of Karel Hoffmann, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

The situation in fulfilling the tasks arising out of the resolutions passed by the CPCZ Central Committee and its organs was discussed. Particular attention was paid to implementing the conclusions from the nationwide meeting of leading secretaries from party regional and district committees which was held on 15 and 16 September.

Experiences from the progress to date of the primary organizations' annual members' meetings and from the preparations for the all-plenary meetings and the party conferences were also discussed.

Suggestions for the further development of the CPCZ's cooperation with the other political parties affiliated in the CSSR National Front as well as suggestions for guaranteeing the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's conclusions on this issue in the activity of all levels of party organs were also debated at the meeting. The meeting's participants were acquainted with the organization of an all-party discussion on the draft CPCZ Statutes and with the current state of work and further course of the prepared draft of the new CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Constitution.

Other topical issues concerning the party's internal life and work in the very near future were also discussed.

'More Active' State Influence on Publications

AU0610211689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Sessions of the Governments of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpts] Prague—On the agenda of the plenary meeting of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic on Wednesday [4 October] was a report on the course of preparations and the timetable of implementation of repairs of the housing stock in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The report was submitted by the minister of interior and the environment and by the minister of construction and the building industry. [passage omitted]

The Government also discussed a number of legislative measures. It discussed the draft of a law of the Czech National Council on the publication and distribution of non-periodic publications (the publishing law), which was submitted by the minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic. The proposed amendment to the law reacts to the development, improvement, and mass utilization of modern technologies for audio and video recording, defines the term non-periodic publications, ties their publication to the conferment of publishing rights, and, at the same time, increases the publishers' responsibility. The draft permits a more active influence of state bodies on the publication and distribution of non-periodic publications in all forms. [passage omitted]

Scientist Accused of Subversion Released

LD0610200589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] The Bratislava city court decided today to release Miroslav Kusy, a scientist at the Urbion state enterprise in Bratislava. Kusy is being prosecuted for the crime of subversion.

At the same time, the court received a written promise from the defendant that while at liberty, he will not continue the activity for which he is being prosecuted, and that he will attend hearings at the court or with the prosecutor when summoned.

Attempts to 'Disrupt' Anniversary Fest Prevented

LD0810081489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0752 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the evening of 7 October, rioters in Berlin tried to disrupt the popular festivities for the 40th anniversary of the GDR. In collaboration with the Western media they assembled on and around the Alexanderplatz and shouted slogans hostile to the republic. Thanks to the presence of mind of the defense and security bodies, as well as the participants in the festivities, the intended provocations did not develop. The ringleaders were arrested.

DPA Reports 40th Anniversary Demos; Appeals

Silent March Broken Up

*LD0610162789 Hamburg DPA in German
1522 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—On Thursday evening a silent march of over 500 people was broken up by security forces in Magdeburg. According to information from church circles, people's police officers also made use of their batons. The mainly young people had earlier attended a peace prayer service in the cathedral which takes place there every Thursday.

According to information from Madgeburg, the people were driven back and at least 100 to 200 people put onto trucks. Church sources reported at least four people injured. They required medical attention. The police officers were wearing helmets and protective shields. They had been standing by in squads with armored personnel carriers and water cannon, the reports say.

The 'SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG' also reported on serious incidents in Dresden on Friday. It mentioned the injured members of the security forces and forthcoming court cases. The Friday edition of the newspaper also briefly touched on the latest incidents the previous evening, without giving any details.

Opposition Takes Stand on Elections

*LD0610222389 Hamburg DPA in German
2141 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin, (DPA)—For the first time, various opposition groups in the GDR have agreed on a basic consensus for cooperation. A joint statement adopted this evening in East Berlin's Erloeserkirche (Church of the Redeemer) by some 2,500 people calls, among other things, for the next elections to be held under United Nations control. The groups stated that they want to cooperate and examine "to what extent we can be effective in an electoral alliance with our own joint candidates."

The statement says that the various groups are linked by "the will to democratically restructure state and society." It is a matter of ending a situation in which female and male citizens of this society do not have the possibility to exercise their political rights as demanded by the UN Human Rights Convention and the CSCE documents.

Representatives of the various groups such as the "Citizens Movement for Democracy Now," the "New Forum," the "Democratic Departure," the "Group of Democratic Female Socialists," the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative," the "Initiative Group Social- Democratic Party in the GDR," and representatives of peace circles agreed on the statement.

In the GDR priority must given to opening a discussion on what minimum conditions must be adhered to in a democratic election. The possibility of different political decisions and of free and open elections were listed. The groups stated that their solidarity with all "who are persecuted for their commitment to these goals." They stated their support for the release of those in custody, for the lifting of sentences passed, and a halt to investigation proceedings in progress.

"To change our country the involvement and criticism of everyone is needed. We appeal to all citizens of the GDR to collaborate in the democratic renewal."

'New Forum' Members Arrested

*LD0710072789 Hamburg DPA in German
2322 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Eight supporters of the opposition movement "New Forum" were arrested in Halle on Friday evening by the GDR's security services. This was announced by well-informed sources in West Berlin. Among those arrested was Kartin Eigenfeld one of the signatories of the call to found the "New Forum."

Frau Eigenfeld's house is also said by these sources to have been searched. It was said that there may have also been arrests in other cities in the GDR.

'New Forum' Members Freed

*LD0710120389 Hamburg DPA in German
1146 GMT 7 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Several people involved in the "New Forum" citizens' initiative, who were held for some hours by the security services in Halle on Friday evening, have been released again. As was said today by an informed source in East Berlin, the five arrested were asked about their activities for the "Forum." Among these people was Katrin Eigenfeld, a signatory of the group's founding appeal. She, too, was released, "Forum" workers announced in East Berlin. Another source had reported eight arrests in Halle.

It has become known over the past few days that "Forum" supporters had been interrogated individually by the authorities. However, no one is said to have been in the custody of the security services for very long. Over the past few days, the authorities have placed a large proportion of the initiators of groups independent of the state under increased observation.

Police Beat Demonstrators in Leipzig

LD0710152289 Hamburg DPA in German
1455 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—On the 40th anniversary of the GDR, there were demonstrations in Leipzig for democracy and social reforms. According to information from the fair city, security forces took action with their batons against the crowd several times. As was said this afternoon, there were apparently several dozen temporary detentions.

Eyewitnesses reported that demonstrators were forced into numerous police cars. Shouts came again and again from the crowd: "No violence, no violence." The whole affair was ongoing in the afternoon in the Altstadt around the Nikolai Church. The majority of demonstrators demanded democratic renewal and freedom of opinion. Applicants for emigration from the GDR have scarcely been observed, they said. Again and again protesting groups marched through the inner city.

Protesters Ask Gorbachev's 'Help'

LD0710174689 Hamburg DPA in German
1706 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Demonstrations against the rulers in the GDR took place in East Berlin this afternoon. A protest march, formed in Alexander Square, grew to well over 1,000 people. They marched to the Palace of the Republic, the seat of the GDR People's Chamber.

There the official ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR was held yesterday with SED leader Erich Honecker and the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A wide area around the parliament building was cordoned off by the security forces. From among the crowd shouts such as "Freedom, freedom," "Gorby, help us" and "We remain here" could be heard.

Initially 50 to 100 people had gathered in Alexander Square and demonstrated for "freedom." They were surrounded by several television teams and photographers as well as hundreds of sightseers. At the same time a popular celebration was being held in Alexander Square. Later the police forces intervened and demonstrators were pushed back. One young man was led away.

Afterward, several hundred people formed a demonstration, marching past Alexander Tower to the Red Townhall. There police did not intervene. Shouts such as "We don't want any Stasi pigs," "Freedom," and "Gorby help us" could be heard. Many people sang the "Internationale."

Several hundred people's police formed chains and began to push back the protesting crowd. Again and again there were calls of "Freedom" and "Gorby, help us."

Potsdam Marchers Demand Change

LD0710194189 Hamburg DPA in German
1933 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] According to eyewitness reports, about 800 people marched in Potsdam this afternoon through the pedestrian zone, distributed flowers, sang the "Internatonale," and chanted, "We want to bring about change." After a police chain, formed earlier, had withdrawn the demonstrators dispersed.

Demonstrations 'Brutally Put Down'

LD0710225889 Hamburg DPA in German
2211 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] It was learned in East Berlin this evening that some of the demonstrations in several cities in the GDR were brutally put down by the security forces.

At the demonstration in East Berlin, batons were used, several demonstrators had been injured. A large-scale force of police and security officers had surrounded the demonstrators for a time. In the streets around the Prenzlauer Berg district many dozens of police vehicles and bulldozers had been standing ready, according to eyewitnesses. Water cannons had been brought up. Nothing could be learned in the evening about the number of injuries and arrests.

Also in Leipzig, where according to information available in East Berlin in the evening possibly up to 20,000 people took to the streets calling for more freedom, the police broke up the demonstrations with water cannons and batons. A students' chaplain reported that on several occasions ambulances had raced through the city.

In Jena, Dresden, Plauen, and Potsdam the people also demonstrated against the conditions in the GDR. In Jena a child had been severly injured during a police operation, it was reported. Eyewitnesses in Dresden reported brutal police action against demonstators. Participants in the demonstrations had been beaten up and had been lying in the streets, covered in blood.

In the Plauen the demonstrators had attacked the police water cannon and had destroyed the vehicles' windows. Also the demonstration in Potsdam, in which 3,000 citizens had been involved, was broken up violently by the security forces.

Uniformed members of the Stasi [state security] guard regiment Felix Dzherzhinskiy secured the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] party headquarters in East Berlin this evening. According to eyewitnesses reports, several hundred uniformed men took position in front of the building of the Central Committee.

Berlin Crossings Remain Closed

*LD0810102989 Hamburg DPA in German
0907 GMT 8 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR is continuing to keep the crossing points in Berlin closed to Western tourists. This morning around 100 tourists reported to the Berlin police that they had been sent back by the GDR's border authorities.

Since Thursday, the day before the celebrations of the 40th anniversary, the GDR has prevented well over 1,000 Western tourists from entering. A reason for the measure has not been given.

The refusals of entry are apparently linked to fears that the potential for protest by critical citizens in the GDR could be increased by visitors from the West.

Cultural Paper Self-Critical

*LD0810140389 Hamburg DPA in German
1256 GMT 8 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's weekly cultural paper "SONNTAG," published by the GDR's Cultural League, discusses the wave of refugees in a commentary and poses self-critical questions. "What did we do wrong? Can it be just vain illusion which seduced people. and led them away from us leaving never to return, the loss of people and ideas, of commitment, and effort. Why? Is it not homemade things which often make our lives difficult? How seriously do we really take socialist democracy? Do we not all too often pass off our ideas of reality for reality itself?"

They said those people who are now leaving the GDR let themselves be blinded "by the sweet word freedom." However, the question must be asked: "What is our attitude toward tolerance when we get into an argument with people who think differently from us? Are there not still tendencies to suspect our adversary politically in the first instance, rather than thinking over his suggestions for making things work well and putting them to productive use?"

10 Arrests in Clashes Near Church

*LD0810214689 Hamburg DPA in German
2056 GMT 8 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Once again there were some clashes near the Gethsemane Church in East Berlin this evening. Eyewitnesses report at least 10 arrests. In the borough of Prenzlauer Berg there were large numbers of security forces deployed, especially around the Schoenhauser Allee and the church. Eyewitnesses reported there being several hundred.

In and around the church there are between 2,000 and 3,000 mainly young people, who are calling for the release of the many people detained and arrested in the last few days. Once again, there were many personnel vehicles and bulldozers standing by.

During the evening some of the demonstrators in the Schoenhauser Allee sat down and chanted demands for "Freedom, Freedom." The clashes lasted into the night.

A television team from First German Television (ARD) was surrounded for a time by members of the People's Police and forced to hand over film cassettes. According to the first German Television correspondent, the teams's vehicle was stopped on the way to the city center by a civilian vehicle which blocked its path.

The correspondent pointed to the accreditation regulations and cited the GDR Foreign Ministry. After about 20 to 30 minutes the team, as it further reported, was surrounded by five people's policemen with rubber truncheons in their hands. A lieutenant once again called for the cassettes to be handed over. After further demands and threats and a search of team's pockets, the ARD then handed over the films.

There was also an information and prayer meeting at the East Berlin parish of Alt-Treptow. Here also policemen were posted around the church. According to eyewitnesses there were no incidents. The participants in the event could leave the scene without difficulty.

Further on East Berlin Protests

*LD0910030989 Hamburg DPA in German
0058 GMT 9 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—A day after the heaviest unrest in the GDR since the civil uprising of 17 June 1953 there were further clashes in East Berlin on Sunday [8 October] evening. Following a prayer meeting for peace and nonviolence in the Gethsemane church, a strong contingent of security forces took action against around 2,000 people, most of them young. Eyewitnesses reported police laid into demonstrators, occasionally with truncheons. Dozens were led away; one observer even spoke of more than 100 being temporarily detained.

It only became known during the night into Monday that thousands had also demonstrated for reform and democracy in Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Plauen on Sunday. Under the mediation of the regional Bishop Johannes Hentel, a petition was delivered to the mayor of Dresden, in which numerous citizens pleaded for the legalization of the citizen's initiative, "New Forum." The authorities have reportedly promised a response.

Among other things, it became known that some of the several hundred people detained on Saturday's demonstrations were given prison sentences of up to 6 months in summary proceedings. Others, however, had already been freed. Church circles assume that around 700 were temporarily detained in East Berlin just on Saturday, throughout the GDR clearly more than 1,000 were detained. [passage omitted]

According to eyewitnesses, several thousand people demonstrated in Dresden on Sunday. [passage omitted]

By and large it was said to be relatively peaceful in comparison to the previous week's demonstrations. [passage omitted]

50,000 Join Peaceful Protest

LD0910210889 Hamburg DPA in German 2049 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—An estimated 50,000 people demonstrated on Monday evening in Leipzig for reforms, democratic renewal and peaceful dialogue in the GDR. According to initial information it was the largest non-state GDR mass rally of this kind apart from the popular uprising of 17 June 1953.

There were no incidents by the early evening hours. The security forces, who were in reserve in large numbers, remained in the background. [passage omitted]

Functionaries of the Leipzig Socialist Unity Party of Germany Area Organization and prominent cultural workers declared in a joint statement their readiness for dialogue and talks, in order to arrive at peaceful solutions and positive steps in GDR society.

The statement was broadcast before the church services by the so- called city radio—these are columns of loudspeakers in the inner city for special events and occurrences.

The people in Leipzig shouted many times: "No violence," "We are the people" and "We want reforms" and "Honi, open your eyes." The legalization of the "New Forum" was also demanded as in the previous week. According to participants there were also shouts of "Gorby, Gorby."

After 20.30 the demonstration broke up slowly, it was reported from Leipzig. The many police and factory combat groups, which also had water cannons in reserve, gradually moved away. Numerous people still remained on the streets and the sidewalks and spoke with the security forces. "It was so good, it was peaceful," a young woman from Leipzig reports.

Party Secretaries Issue Statement

LD1010000189 Hamburg DPA in German 2229 GMT 9 Oct 89

["Statement by Socialist Unity Party of Germany Secretaries"—DPA headline]

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—The joint Leipzig statement, which was read out in the churches, was signed i.a. by the director-general of music, Kurt Masur, and the three Bezirk [Area] Organization Secretaries Kurt Meier, Jochen Pommert, and Roland Woetzel. The statement text follows:

"Our joint concern and responsibility have brought us together. We are concerned about the development in our city and we are seeking a solution. We all need a free exchange of opinion on the further continuance of socialism in our country. For this reason the people named on the statement today promise all citizens that they will commit all their strength and authority so that this dialogue is conducted not only in the Leipzig Bezirk, but also with our government. We ask you urgently for level-headedness so that the peaceful dialogue becomes possible."

Appeal Made for Peaceful Protest

LD0910222989 Hamburg DPA in German 2149 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—The "Working Circle Justice, the Working Circle Human Rights, the Working Group Environmental Protection" in Leipzig, released on Monday—before the great Leipzig demonstration—the following appeal:

"In the past weeks there have been many incidents of demonstrations in the various cities of the GDR which ended in violence: the throwing of cobblestones, broken windows, burned-out cars, rubber truncheons—and the use of water cannon. An unknown number of people were injured—some speak of people being killed. Last Monday in Leipzig also ended in violence.

"We are afraid—afraid for ourselves, afraid for our friends, for the people beside us, and afraid for the person facing us in the uniform. We are afraid for the future of our country; violence only ever creates violence, violence solves no problems. Violence is inhuman. Violence cannot be the symbol of a new and better society.

"We ask everyone: Refrain from any violence; do not break through police lines; keep your distance from the barriers; do not attack any people or vehicles; do not remove any clothing or equipment from the operational forces. Do no throw any objects and refrain from violent slogans. Show solidarity and prevent provocations. Adopt peaceful and imaginative forms of protest.

"We appeal to the operational forces: Refrain from violence, do not react to peaceableness with violence. We are one people. Violence among us will leave behind eternally bleeding wounds. The party and government must be held responsible above all for the serious situation which has arisen. But today it is up to us to prevent a further escalation of the violence. Our future depends on it.

"Leipzig, 9 October 1989. Working Circle Justice, Working Circle Human Rights, Working Group Environmental Protection."

Church Appeals For Restraint

LD0910181489 Hamburg DPA in German 1708 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In view of the recent demonstrations and acts of violence, Bishop Gottfried Forck and other representatives of the church of Berlin-Brandenburg have appealed urgently for "the greatest possible restraint." The appeal was published today against the backdrop of feared new incidents. Strong police security precautions were observed this afternoon in the city center in Leipzig and around Gethsemane church in East Berlin.

The church appeal also states. "We call urgenty upon the GDR state leadership to introduce immediately plain and credible measures to create a democratic, law-governed, socialist perspective for the GDR." The order and security forces should meet the "impatience of critical citizens that is visible on the streets with the greatest possible retraint," in order to avoid damage.

Turning to the demonstrators, it is stressed: "We call urgently upon the concerned people of our country to refrain now from taking part in demonstrations on the streets that do not have official approval," for those with political responsibility should not be able to say that "they will not allow themselves to be pressured with regard to changes in the future."

Churches Publish 'Urgent Requests'

LD0910201289 Hamburg DPA in German 1929 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Representatives of East Berlin churches have, in connection with the demonstrations in the GDR, written a text with the title "Four Urgent Requests."

The text calls upon GDR citizens "to exercise freedom of opinion without fear immediately, so that the discussion about our future gets underway." The GDR state leadership should introduce "clear and credible steps immediately," "so that a broad consensus for a law-governed, democratic and socialist perspective for the GDR is found."

The forces for order and security are called upon to demonstrate "the greatest possible restraint" vis-a-vis "the impatience of critical citizens" on the street. In Point 4 of the text, which the Berlin RIAS-TELEVISION station published after a telephone interview with East Berlin priest Rainer Eppelmann, concerned people are urgently asked "now not to take part in demonstrations on the streets that do not have official approval."

The signatories of the appeal include the consistorial President Manfred Stolpe, the three priests of the Gethsemane parish and Pastor Rainer Epelmann, among other church workers and and priests.

Moratorium on Protests Suggested

LD0910180989 Hamburg DPA in German 1649 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] The East Berlin priest Rainer Eppelmann has suggested to the GDR opposition that for the next 2 weeks they abstain from all forms of protest that could challenge the state's authority, during these 2 weeks, however, the government should give clear signals. "The government and those governed in the GDR need time to think things over in peace and then to be able to talk with one another," he said in an interview with the Berlin radio station RIAS.

People should be able to see from the signals that the government has listened and understood, Eppelmann said, according to RIAS. Those who were imprisoned should be released and sentences against members of opposition groups should be lifted. If the GDR Government does not give such signals, the calls to remain calm and not use violence will remain nothing but appeals, which ever fewer people will obey. A train of events could then take hold in which violence would predominate. In Eppelmann's view, nobody can at present know with certainty how things will develop in the GDR. "I have the impression that anything is possible at the moment."

Western Press Restricted

LD0910144189 Hamburg DPA in German 1413 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR has further restricted the working conditions for accredited Western press photographers. On Monday the authorities tightened the restrictions on photography and filming. Western press journalists were prohibited from taking pictures near the Gethsemane Church, where a vigil for detained GDR citizens is taking place. On Sunday photography was allowed there.

In response to questions, two People's Police officers said: "Photography and filming is forbidden in this area." Photographers were instructed to leave the area immediately. To the question of how big the area was the reply came: "The whole area around here." Now the street to the church is closed to all press photographers.

Writers' Union Chief Condemns Media

LD0910141389 Hamburg DPA in German 1234 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers' Union and member of the SED Central Committee, has for the first time publicly commented on the wave of refugees and sharply criticized the GDR media. In an "open letter" published by the FDJ [Free German Youth] paper "JUNGE WELT" (Young World) on Monday, Kant referred to the "high-handedness of the press" and the suppression of criticism of conditions in the GDR that are worthy of criticism. Kant complained of "insufficient freedom of movement of ideas in one's own country" and "omnipresent tutelage" in the GDR, as well as the "prescribed abstinence regarding goods which elsewhere are considered standard in the 20th century."

Workers Militia Ready To Take Up Arms

AU1010093889 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 10 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] On 6 October LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG published a letter from a commander of the workers militia on the latest demonstrations in the GDR. DIE WELT reprints the full text of this letter:

Working people of the bezirk demand: Do not tolerate hostility toward the state any longer.

The members of the "Hans Geiffert" group of 100 workers militia members condemn what unscrupulous elements have been doing in the city of Leipzig for some time. We are in favor of the citizens of Christian belief holding their services and their prayers in the Nikolai Church. This is guaranteed to them by our Constitution and the state power of our socialist GDR. We are against the fact that these church events are abused to carry out provocations against the GDR that are hostile to the state. We feel molested when we are confronted with these things after work.

Therefore, we expect that everything is being done to ensure public order and security, in order to protect the values and achievements of socialism in the GDR accomplished through 40 years of hard work, and to continue our construction work purposefully and according to plan for the welfare of all citizens. We are ready and willing to effectively protect the achievements that have been accomplished with the work of our hands in order to finally and effectively stop these counterrevolutionary actions. If necessary with weapons in our hands!

We deny these elements the right to use songs and slogans of the workers' class for their purposes. After all, they are only trying to hide their true goals with this.

Commander Guenter Lutz, on behalf of the "Hans Geiffert" group of 100 workers militia members.

MTI Reports Hungarian Reporters Booted Out

LD0910220889 Budapest MTI in English 2144 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig, October 9 (MTI)—Following the peaceful demonstration in Leipzig on Monday evening, correspondents of the HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY, and the dailies NEPSZABADSAG and MAGYAR NEMZET were stopped when going back to their cars, by a police patrol and called on to immediately leave the city. The only reason given was that it was the order of the people's police.

Leaders Mark 40th Anniversary, Delegations Arrive

Mittag Emphasizes Links to USSR

AU0510142389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Festive Event At USSR Embassy in Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin—At a festive event in honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], at the invitation of Vyacheslav Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR, addressed the collective of the members of the embassy. He conveyed most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

"We, the Communists of the GDR and the Communists of the USSR, are commemorating the anniversary of the founding of the GDR as a common holiday. This is the way it has always been done, this is the way it is being done now, and this is the way it will always be done," Guenther Mittag stressed. This anniversary is a particularly impressive manifestation of the close links between our parties, states, and peoples. The GDR is looking forward with great pleasure to the visit to Berlin by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. This visit will again make clear the fact that we share the basic views on the ideals and values of socialism, on its vital force and its historical prospects.

Referring to the historical act of liberation by the Soviet Union in smashing Hitlerite fascism, Guenter Mittag stressed that from the beginning everything possible was done on the soil of the GDR to completely eradicate fascism and its imperialist roots. With the creation of the GDR, an antifascist and democratic state was created on German soil, which was the result of joint actions by German and Soviet Communists.

Guenter Mittag also pointed out that the successful development of the GDR and its self-assertion in connection with imperialist attacks has been possible thanks to the policy of the SED, which has consistently been aimed at socialism. The further development of the GDR is only conceivable on the basis of socialism, he stressed. In this, the SED, in preparing for its 12th Congress, relies on the unity of continuity and renewal.

On the occasion of its 40th anniversary, the GDR can be proud of its impressive balance sheet of social progress in all spheres of life. This balance sheet testifies to the fact that socialism has been shaped by the struggles of our time, and—Mittag wanted to stress this—that socialism is capable of undergoing development. This has become clear through the far-reaching changes that have been initiated by the Eighth SED Congress and the SED's program.

In his speech to the members of the USSR Embassy, Guenter Mittag stressed that the GDR, with its efficient national economy, will continue to be a reliable partner in economic cooperation with the USSR, and that it will support everything that is conducive to the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries within CEMA and between the two peoples and states in general.

At the beginning of his speech, Ambassador Kochemasov paid tribute to the significance of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The upcoming visit by Mikhail Gorbachev will be convincing new proof of the fraternal relations between the CPSU and the SED, the USSR and the GDR. It will be of great significance for the further mutually advantageous cooperation between the two parties and states. The GDR, under the leadership of the SED, has taken on a successful socialist development during the past 4 decades. At the same time, its friendly relations with the USSR developed further and the USSR's comprehensive cooperation with the GDR has strengthened. These are irreversible realities. In this connection, Vyacheslav Kochemasov mentioned the working meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker in 1985. The first basic and specific agreements for cooperation in all spheres, particularly in the fields of economy, science, and production, were concluded during this meeting. Cooperation underwent a tangible development every year, and, generally speaking, one can state that such far-reaching and mutually advantageous relations have never before existed between the two states. This is a great victory for our common cause, the USSR ambassador emphasized.

In conclusion, Ambassador Kochemasov pointed out that "we fully share the pride in the achievements of the GDR that have been accomplished since its founding." He asked Guenter Mittag to convey cordial greetings and best wishes to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Stoph on 'Historic Test'

AU0610160689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 89 p 5

[Unattributed report on the Speech of Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers Chairman, at a meeting in the banquet hall of the Ministries Building in Berlin on 3 October: "The Founding of the GDR—a Turning Point in our People's History"]

[Text] The German Democratic Republic was founded in this hall on 7 October 1949. That is the inscription on the memorial plaque which was unveiled by Willi Stoph, Central Committee Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at a meeting in the banquet hall of the Ministries Building in Berlin's Leipziger Strasse.

Forty years ago, 330 members of the German People's Council, the leading body of the People's Congress movement for unity and just peace, had made those resolutions which became the GDR's birth certificate. They declared themselves the Provisional People's Chamber and put the constitution into force which was confirmed by the Third German People's Congress. Four days later, on 11 October 1949, Wilhelm Pieck was elected president of the Republic in the same banquet hall. One day later, the People's Chamber—with Johannes Dieckmann as its president—listened to the government statement of Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, and confirmed the government. Leading representatives of the parties represented in the Democratic Bloc, such as Walter Ulbricht, Otto Nuschke, Hans Loch, Ernst Goldenbaum, and Lothar Bolz assumed responsible functions in it.

Many Generations' Longing For Peace Has Materialized

Less than four decades later, members of several generations met in a historic place. Among them were members of the Provisional People's Chamber of 1949, meritorious working people who have energetically worked for the strengthening and prospering of our socialist state, and representatives of the young generation. Willi Stoph said in his address that the founding of the first worker-peasant state on German soil was a turning point in the history of our people and in the history of Europe. He said that "what many generations of loyal Germans had longed for, what they had lived and fought for materialized thereby: A German state of peace—life without exploitation and suppression—a happy and socially ensured future for their children and grandchildren."

Taking issue with those who falsify the historic truth, Willi Stoph said that the German Reich in the borders of 1937 was destroyed by the fire of the criminal, fascist war. He said that the consistent implementation of the Potsdam Agreement could have led all of Germany onto the road of peace, democracy, and social progress.

However, the German imperialists who were defeated in the war were doing everything in their power to save their class rule and prevent a progressive development of the whole of society. In doing so, they acted according to the motto "better all of half of Germany than half of all Germany." As early as in 1948, a separate currency was introduced in the three Western zones, and on 7 September 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany was founded. It was therefore a logical conclusion for the working people in the then-Soviet occupation zone to respond to the division of Germany by founding their own sovereign state. Thus history had pronounced its judgment.

The speaker went on to say that the mere fact that both German states adopted their constitutions makes it clear who has the true and democratic justification: The GDR's Constitution which became effective on 7 October 1949 was discussed by the people in a broad public debate, and was confirmed by the Third German People's Congress in May 1949. On the other hand, the FRG's Basic Law was drafted behind closed doors, and was put into force by the military governors of the three Western occupation powers on 23 May 1949 over the people's heads.

The serious difference between the two German states over the peace issue which decides the fate of humanity becomes already clear from the first government statements. On behalf of all groups in the People's Chamber, Otto Grotewohl confirmed the Oder-Neisse peace border and definitely rejected every incitement to hatred among peoples. However, in its debate on Adenauer's government statement, the Bonn Bundestag very frankly made the revanchist demand for the borders of 1937.

Socialist Building Has Never Been a Smooth Road

The speaker said that the building of the socialist system was never easy or a smooth road: "We have also had to pay a price. However, the SED has always lived up to its responsible, leading role by pointing out emerging problems and showing ways of solving them. The unity of the people which is embodied in the National Front, the comradely cooperation between the parties and mass organizations demonstrate the strength of our socialist democracy. The principle 'take part in work, take part in planning, take part in governing' has proved successful million-fold in everyday life."

The premier stressed that from the first day of its existence, our republic has enjoyed the affinity and solidarity of the socialist fraternal countries. The Soviet Union above all has provided comprehensive aid and support. However, from the first day, it also felt the hatred of those who have been barred from reestablishing their rule. "However, all these machinations aimed at blackmailing and ruining the GDR and 'rolling back' socialism have failed. Even though the antinational and anti-communist policy of our people's enemies has created many difficulties and has often highly jeopardized peace, it has never been able to make us abandon our course of socialist development. The GDR has always emerged strengthened from all these class struggles."

Those Who Vitiate The Political Atmosphere Will Fail Once Again

Regarding the current virulent and defamatory campaign of FRG politicians and mass media against the GDR, the speaker stressed that it is by no means a coincidence that it has been launched on the eve of our republic's 40th anniversary—even though these people would really have enough work by eliminating mass unemployment, homelessness, the housing misery, drug addiction, and other grievances of capitalist society in their country.

Willi Stoph said that "we have a clear response" to the evil tirades of hate: "We resolutely reject the imperialist attack on the socialist GDR. Those who vitiate the political atmosphere will fail once again. That has been proved not least by the citizens' clear ascertainment of loyalty to their worker-peasant state and many collectives' statements of intent to strengthen socialism in our country and make it more attractive through higher performance," stressed Willi Stoph.

Discussing the GDR's role in the international arena, the Council of Ministers chairman said: "Firmly anchored in the socialist community and being a Warsaw Pact member, it helped bring about a change from confrontation to detente by its policy. Thus the diplomatic blockade pursued by the FRG for more than 20 years broke down. The GDR became an equal member of the United Nations Organization, and maintains at present diplomatic relations with 135 countries in the world."

It Is Time to Drop the Relics of Cold War

Stoph said that with the conclusion of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG in 1972, the wishful dreams of incorrigible revanchists about a greater Germany burst definitely like soap bubbles. He said that if people in the FRG against better knowledge talk about an "open" German problem nevertheless, and claim a so-called "obligation to take care of" GDR citizens, this represents a clear violation of international law which insults the citizens in our country. He said that it is high time for those who hold political responsibility in Bonn to consider the facts and to drop these relics of cold war. Every interference in the internal affairs of our sovereign state can only do irreparable harm to the process of detente and the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Willi Stoph said that on our 40th anniversary we can state in the place where our state was founded: "The GDR has passed its historic test in the center of Europe. It has become an internationally respected member of the international community, and its peace policy enjoys high respect throughout the world." Based on the general laws of socialist building, our policy has put its stakes on continuity and renewal, the speaker said. In this way we have reached a material and cultural living standard that we did not even dream about when the GDR was founded.

The 12th Party Congress Will Define the Future Course

Stoph said that it is currently our task to preserve what has been achieved, and to try and find new roads and solutions on the basis of social ownership of the means of production and socialist planned economy. They will be mastered if we connect the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism even better. "In this respect, we always pay attention to the dialectical unity of economic and social policy. We are expanding socialist democracy further, to develop—in a broader and more effective way—the people's creative capabilities for solving the social tasks for the benefit of the whole community and every individual citizen."

War must never again start from German soil. Stoph said that this principle has determined the GDR's history for more than 4 decades, and it will continue to be our leitmotif. Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, the GDR is undertaking considerable efforts to make sure that the peace program of the Warsaw Pact states is implemented without delay. "We want the new millennium to begin in peace, in a nuclear weapons-free world, with fewer armed forces and more security," said Willi Stoph.

The Council of Ministers chairman concluded his speech by stating that "being proud of what we have achieved, and being aware of our future tasks, we intend to concentrate all our efforts on the shaping of the developed socialist society." "The 12th SED Congress, keeping in mind the last decade of this century, will define the further course in this respect. We will consistently continue our good policy which is aimed at the benefit of the people and the safeguarding of peace."

Krenz, Aurich Comment

LD0510014289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With the GDR, a state came into being which enjoys great respect wherever good sense and realism prevail. This was stated by Deputy Council of State Chairman Egon Krenz today at an awards ceremony at the official seat of the Council of State in Berlin to mark the 40th anniversary.

The GDR enjoys high regard for its reliable peace policy and the living standards of its citizens; for the anti-fascist tradition which it kept alive and for its anti-imperialist solidarity; for its constructive participation in all solutions which benefit security and the international coexistence of the peoples, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member stated. The GDR's history is a history of the vigor of its citizens and the solidarity of its friends.

"When we look forward to the coming years from the standpoint of what has been achieved, we know that much that is new must be tackled jointly," Krenz added. "This corresponds with the essence of socialism. It can only be successful if man unfolds all his talents and abilities and each person puts his knowledge and skills into our common work, the GDR. New answers will have to be found for many new questions."

In this spirit the SED is preparing for its 12th congress, Egon Krenz stated. "We have jointly proved in the German Democratic Repubic that socialism is neither a utopia nor an experiment. It arose out of the longing of the people for a life free of misery, free of need and violence; for a society in which man becomes the master of his own destiny. The GDR policy remains committed to this task."

In preparation of the GDR's 40th anniversary the FDJ [Free German Youth] has made greater efforts to enter into a greater dialogue with each young person to urge him to take part in deepening and experiencing the values of the socialist german state. This was stated by the first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Eberhard Aurich, today at an award ceremony staged by the FDJ.

Here there are many results which inspire optimism, experiences which get things going, but also manifestations which provoke reflection and call for improved, more effective ideas and more timely efforts. Since in preparing the 12th SED Congress, the FDJ is also preparing the next FDJ parliament, the FDJ asked for motions to the parliament and proposals for the solution of emerging questions to turn the ideas and proposals of many into the joint will of all.

With the GDR a state of peace and freedom has arisen for the first time in the history of the German people, said Aurich. It is a German republic of democracy and socialism, a country which brings the people and its youth a better life and guaranteed a secure future. So that these previous values remain reality, the FDJ members committed themselves to this country in the "FDJ Pledge—GDR 40" and will demonstrate this in the torchlight procession on the eve of the anniversary.

A further basic value of this German state is to be a country without exploiters and exploited. Anti-fascism and anti-imperialist solidarity, solid security and justice, socially secure conditions and certainty of the future, true democracy and absolute respect for the dignity of each individual are part of it.

SRV Delegation Arrives in Berlin

BK0510160989 Hanoi VNA in English 1518 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA October 5—A Vietnamese party and state delegation led by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, arrived in Berlin yesterday for the celebrations of the 40th national day of the German Democratic Republic.

It was welcomed on its arrival by Harry Tisch, Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, and a number of other high-ranking GDR officials.

The ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Vietnam, Joachim Loeschner, was also on hand.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Arrive

LD0610230689 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, Oct. 6—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived in Berlin today to take part in ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. The head of the Polish delegation was greeted by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party, Chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker.

The Polish delegation is also composed of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Shortly after arriving in the GDR capital, President Wojciech Jaruzelski accompanied by members of the Polish delegation laid flowers at the Monument to Polish Soldier and German Anti-Fascist at the Berlin Friedrichshain Park, paying tribute to the memory of Polish soldiers fallen during the Berlin operation and to German patriots who, together with Poles, fought against the Nazi terror.

Next, Wojciech Jaruzelski met for talks with GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph, while at the same time PUWP CC

First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with member of the Political Bureau of the German Socialist Unity Party Siegfried Lorenz.

Talks were also held between Foreign Ministers of Poland and the GDR, Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Oskar Fischer.

Willi Stoph entertained Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Krzysztof Skubiszewski to lunch.

In the afternoon, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Van Linh.

Mongolian Delegation Arrives

OW0710061189 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] A Mongolian party and Government delegation led by party General Secretary and President Batmonh is currently (?visiting) the German Democratic Republic. The delegation is there at the invitation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and the GDR State Council for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

Honecker Receives Guests

AU1010133189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Meetings of Erich Honecker With Foreign Guests"]

[Text) Berlin—Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, on Friday [6 October] received in Berlin the foreign guests who were in the republic on its national day. During the friendly meetings prior to the festive ceremony in the Palace of the Republic, Erich Honecker said he was happy that the GDR was commemorating its 40th founding anniversary with so many friends and comrades from the whole world. In an atmosphere of cordial affinity, chiefs of state, general secretaries and chairmen of communist and workers parties, prime ministers and government members, representatives of parties and national liberation movements conveyed to Erich Honecker and the GDR people greetings and congratulations on the anniversary.

In talks with the host, personages from the whole world expressed their respect for the achievements attained by the first socialist German state, its active contribution toward ensuring peace, and its internationalist position. They wished the GDR further successes on its road to the fifth decade and longer. Erich Honecker received the congratulations with gratitude as an expression of appreciation of the worker-peasant state and its policy that is aimed at peace and detente. He asked his guests to convey equally cordial greetings to their peoples, governments, parties, and movements.

Honecker Seeks To Preserve 'Well-Tried'

LD0610215389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1607 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary Erich Honecker's Speech at the 40th Anniversary of the GDR]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Text of the Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of GDR Council of State, today in Berlin at the festive occasion on the GDR's 40th anniversary:

The first Socialist state on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, was founded 40 years ago. Every person who had the good fortune to be involved in this historically significant event thinks back, not without emotion, to the days when the workers and peasants, allied with the intelligentsia and all other workers, established their power in the truest sense of the word. In the West, where the Potsdam agreement was trampled underfoot, a separate state arose without asking the people. There the old society's restoration was set in motion, the construction of the new Wehrmacht was prepared for NATO with the old generals. The past remained unmastered. Today, it is clearer than ever. The founding of the German Democratic Republic, that came into being through the people's movement for unity and a just peace, and whose draft constitution had already been discussed on a broad basis in all the zones, was virtually a historical necessity.

Names such as Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Max Fechner, Otto Nuschke, Johannes Dieckmann, Lothar Bolz, Ernst Goldenbaum, Bertolt Brecht, Johannes R. Becher, Anna Seghers, Arnold Zweig, Willi Bredel, Erich Weinert, and Ernhst Busch can stand here for the millions who held out their hands to construct the new socialist house. Allow me, from this position, to thank both the resistance fighters against Hitler and the activists of the first hour, the labor veterans. Everyone should be thanked, who through their energy, commitment, and achievements allowed our socialist German State of peace to become what it is 40 years after its founding—a cornerstone of stability and security in Europe.

Today our republic is 1 of the 10 most efficient industrialized nations of the world and 1 of the 2 dozen countries with the highest standard of living. And let us not forget that prosperity in this country neither grew on trees nor was accomplished at others' expense. The GDR is the work of millions, of several generations which have built up their workers' and peasants' state with diligent labor, a state with a modern industry and agriculture, with a socialist education system, with a flourishing science and culture. Finally, the GDR is a world nation in sports. We accomplished this with our hands and feet, under the leadership of the party of the working class. Nothing, nothing whatsoever was handed to us on a silver platter or fell into our lap. Moreover, not only did more rubble have to be cleared away than to the west of the Elbe and Werra, but also the stones laid in our path from that quarter. Today, the GDR is an outpost of peace and socialism in Europe. To recognize this at all times protects us, but it should also save our enemies from making erroneous assessments.

Like the Soviet Union, which liberated us, like the People's Republic of China, which recently also celebrated its 40th anniversary, like the People's Republic of Poland and the CSSR, like the other socialist countries, the GDR will cross the threshold to the year 2000 with the certainty that the future belongs to socialism. Socialism is a young society but nevertheless it exercises a great influence on international development. It has accomplished socially important achievements and will continue to do so. Its existence not only gives our people, but the whole of mankind, new hope.

Let us recall the USSR, which since the 1st hour of its existence had the love and hopes of the German proletariat invested in it. The October Revolution opened for mankind a path to a new world, a world of socialism. In the struggle of the anti-Hitler coalition, the Soviet Union bore the main burden in smashing Hitler fascism. Not a day in its history was wasted. This great multinational socialist state stood the test when it was a matter of life and death in the Great Patriotic War. Hitler counted on a split between the peoples of the Soviet Union, but to his dismay this did not occur. His concept of conquest and subjugation was the end of the road for him. This is also a warning to those who believe that the time has come to revise the status quo in Europe, and to those who, as they put it, believe a "new era" is beginning in Europe, allegedly marked by a "failure of socialism". For these people it obviously would be best to throw overboard the old thinking and realistically assess the balance of forces in the world. This would be a great contribution to the safeguarding of peace.

As is known, the GDR arose as a result of World War II and postwar development. It has learned the lesson of history. Here we walk the way of socialism while observing the peculiarities of our experiences and realities. At the same time, we pay careful attention to and make use of the experiences of other socialist countries. But, at no time will we forget the position the Soviet Union holds in the world. Nothing can take place without it. Of this the West should at last take note. Together with it, it will be possible to preserve the peoples from a nuclear inferno and to insure that they can go about their daily work in peace.

At a time, in particular, when influential FRG forces smell an opportunity to remove by means of a coup the results of the World War II and postwar development, there remains once again, only the experience that nothing can be changed of these realities; that the GDR, on the western frontier of the socialist countries in Europe, is proving itself as the breakwater against neo-Nazism and chauvinism. The firm anchoring of the GDR in the Warsaw Pact is a fact.

When at present the opponent directs its slanders against the GDR to an extent hitherto unknown, this is no accident. Forty years of the GDR also sums up the 40-year defeat of German imperialism. It cannot bear to see socialism on German soil since the formerly exploited masses are here furnishing proof that they are capable of determining their own fates without capitalists.

Forty years of the GDR. They were 40 years of heroic work, 40 years of successful struggle for the advancement of our socialist republic, for the prosperity of the people. And, this will continue to be the case. It is important for the leading party of our society, the SED, in preparing its 12th party congress, to consolidate further its own ranks, to link itself still more closely to the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, the whole people. We shall continue to act in the spirit of the findings of Karl Marx, namely that it is important not only to interpret the world, but to change it. We shall also in future change our republic in the community of the socialist countries, through our policy of continuity and renewal, in the colors of the GDR. The objectives are laid down in our party's program. At stake is the further shaping of the advanced socialist society.

Naturally this is not a project which can be mastered within a short period and with ready-made prescriptions, or without a tireless search for the most expedient solutions in each case. It is much more a case of a historic, long-term process of far-reaching changes and reforms in all spheres. As a result, socialism as a real alternative to capitalism reaches continually higher levels and its advantages are brought to bear even more strongly on the life of the people. In actively taking part in all social affairs in line with our principle of "joint working, planning, and governing," they themselves are the architects of their present and future. This much is certain: For us the slogan coined in the GDR's founding era holds good: Ever forward, never backward.

In this spirit the SED is preparing its 12th Congress. With a view to the 1990's and the challenges and problems which must be overcome, it will discuss and decide further tasks in socialist construction and in the struggle for peace. At stake here are fundamental interests of the entire people, and the people will introduce their initiative, expertise, and proposals for the benefit of our common socialist cause in the democratic debate before the party congress. This is in line with the ever-fresh experience that those who keep in mind the welfare of the community also work in the best way for their own welfare.

Life in our country, like international events, are raising questions in our time which call for a clear answer from a firm position. We do not derive our position from an FRG scandal sheet nor from their radio and television, it does not come from some outdated doctrine, but from the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, from the interests of the working class and of all employees. In a word, our position is that of a policy in line with the highest principle: to do everything for the welfare of the people and its peaceful future. Accordingly, we will not stand still at what has been achieved, we will preserve what is well- tried, leave behind what is outmoded and holds us back, and proceed along the course of the unity of economic and social policy. In this spirit we will also continue to develop socialist democracy in its multifarious forms. Our main concern is that the citizens should participate more and more actively and specifically in state affairs.

A comparison of the GDR of today with the GDR of 1949 speaks for itself. One is impressed to see how the great revolutionary process of restructuring took place here on German soil, in which was shown the ability of the working class and its alliance partners to exercise power. The trusting, comradely cooperation between the SED, the other parties, and mass organizations in the democratic bloc and in the GDR National Front has proven itself as a form of involvement of all social forces appropriate to our country. Thus we have succeeded in bringing about many changes—land reform, the transfer of important enterprises into public ownership, school reform, university reform, judicial reform, the law on local representative bodies, the industrial price reforms, the structural changes in the economy.

History long ago passed by those who predicted at its founding that the GDR would only last a few weeks. The proponents of the "Hallstein doctrine", who wanted to deny the socialist German state its equal place in the world arena, have come to grief. In spite of massive political and economic pressure, of the presumption of sole representation [of all Germans], and interference by the FRG, the GDR grew stronger and broke through the diplomatic blockade with the solidarity and support of the other socialist countries, of many friends al over the world. It became a member of the United Nations and its special organizations. Some 135 states maintain diplomatic relations with the GDR.

In 40 years, an economv with a modern structure and great performance power has developed in our country. It is characterized by dynamism and increasing effectiveness. In 1989 our national income will be M279 billion, 11 times that of 1949. Labor productivity increased 10-and-1/2-fold. In industry, production increased 18-fold during this period. Building industry performance is now as high in 1 month as it was in the whole of 1949. Plant production in our agriculture has virtually doubled and the production of animals for slaughter has increased eight-fold. The daily turnover in industrial goods for the population is nowadays 13 and ½ times as much as 40 years ago.

If we look at the most recent past then our results can be seen as well. Thanks to the efforts of the workers, the national income rose on average in the eighties by 4 percent per annum, a rate which is also observed internationally. We can hold our own in face of the great changes in the world market, the increasingly tough competition. This is a fact that speaks for itself if we also should not under any circumstances overlook the fact that the rapid change in science and technology in the world poses an even greater challenge to us. We have taken on this challenge. It is still the case: Our workplace is a battle station for peace and prosperity.

In 1949 it required more than a little courage for the working class to take into their hands the management of an economy that has been devastated by the Hitler war and amputated by the division of Germany, and had virtually been made incapable of life. But against all the doubts and the gloomy prognoses, public property endured and proved itself. The motto: "What the people create with their own hands should belong to the people," became reality. The reconstruction went well and deep disproportions which prevailed from the division were overcome. A successful phase of extensive economic development had been introduced.

All this was difficult enough. It need only be recalled that during the period of the open border up to August 1961, damage of over M100 billion was inflicted on the GDR through the Cold War which, if you like, came on top of the Marshall Plan aid on the other side. Up to 1956 we paid reparations to those countries which were devastated by Hitler's war of plunder. The FRG held back in this respect. However, we marched forward and it became increasingly clear that our country's economy functioned without capitalists, without exploitation of man by man, as a socialist planned economy on the soil of social ownership of the decisive means of production. What was exemplified by Adolf Hennecke and Frida Hockauf was taken up by the entire people, became a driving force in the realization of their words: As we work today, so shall we live tomorrow.

This was proven once again when, in the early 1970's, we tackled the change to intensification and began to link the scientific- technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. Meanwhile, an increasingly large part of our economic growth comes from the high technologies. It is certainly a source of pride that our republic succeeded in developing an efficient microelectronic base of its own, which today produces internationally respected results. Our electronic engineers in Jena and Dresden, in Erfurt, and elsewhere have also broken the western embargo as a result. We will now speed up the development and push forward into ever-larger sectors of production with this key technology. Proceeding from these starting points, our economy is in a position to increase labor productivity more rapidly—in some sectors by 300 to 700 percent, and to make microelectronics part of everyday life. Consumer goods and services are to exceed by far the present level and enrich public prosperity.

Modern technologies strengthen our economic potential and at the same time offer many workers an interesting area for creative work and personal development. This applies especially to the young generation. In any case, it is among our Republic's greatest achievements that without exception all the young people have a future. They do not have to stand in the street and remain without training. They are not taking drugs nor do they have to vegetate without a roof over their head. "Trust in the young and responsible" that is our better world. Anyone striving for a fulfilled life will quickly recognize the humbug glittering over there for what it is.

To face up to the race against time in modern production demands a lot of strength. It means taking risks and also does not always protect against mistakes when breaking new ground. It goes hand in hand with structural changes and tensions. But where in this world would tackling the scientific-technological revolution take place without friction? However, we are solving our problems ourselves, with our socialist means. Advice meant to lead to the weakening of socialism is of no avail. Mass unemployment, homelessness, and social insecurity, which accompany modern technology in the FRG, are unknown here today and will be in the future. It is perverting human rights when one-third, a quarter, or whatever part of society is pushed aside, excluded. The scientific-technological revolution is taking place here in social security and is, to quote Karl Marx, one of the sources of social prosperity.

An obvious proof of this is the housing program. We will solve the housing question as a social problem by the end of 1990. By the end of 1989, 3,270,000 homes will have been built or modernized. But there's more. Whereas in 1949 there were 5,000 nursery places in the GDR, there are now 355,000. There are more than 890,000 places in kindergartens, enough to take care of all children whose parents want it. Since the Eighth Party Congress alone, 55,000 teaching rooms have been created in schools. Seventy-one percent of schools now have a gymnasium of their own. More than a few old people's and nursing homes have been built. Many department stores have improved shopping conditions. New polyclinics have been built. The venerable Berlin Charite [hospital] was modernized and extended. In every area (bezirk), new area (bezirk), and district (kreis), hospitals have been built. Since 1971, 120 indoor swimming pools have been built. All this has raised the quality of life and has changed the appearance of the cities and villages.

One-year maternity leave, interest-free marriage credit, and other important supports for young families, which long ago became the norm in the GDR, are among the fruits of this policy. In 1959 we began to introduce 10-year compulsory education. Today the 10-class general polytechnical secondary school is an accepted part of the life path of our children. In December this year, the sixth increase in pensions for veterans of labor since the Eighth Party Congress will come into force.

Thus, in our social policy we have set priorities which are in lin with the nature of our workers' and peasants' state. Resources have been concentrated on the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the people. Everything cannot be done at once because as everyone knows, you can only spend a mark once. With rising output, our possibilities increase in this sphere too.

We could not have done justice to the turbulent development of the productive forces if a deep reformation had not taken place in our planned economy itself. Fresh in our memory is the process, which was not easy, during which the publicly owned combines were created and improved. The linking of science, production, and sales in these strong economic units has proved itself. Many combines are competing successfully on the world markets, a position that admittedly has to be maintained again from day to day. Thus there is no reason to stop now—on the contrary, we must strengthen our work in this sphere.

The combines have reached a maturity which enables a new quality of management, planning, and economic accounting to be gradually implemented. Self-generation of resources—that is a key word for changes which will be no less deep than those of the past 5 years. The scope for responsibility and self-initiatives will be opened wide on the solid base of a balanced plan. The influence of the individual as well as of the collective and trade unions in the enterprise will increase. The work performance principle will have a more urgent effect, good work will therefore pay off increasingly well. All this allows the relationship between the individual and public property to become closer, together with the rights and obligations that are linked with this. From our point of view the socialist-planned economy is a living organism that can never be viewed as finished and completed.

The increasingly deep cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries is a firm fundament of our economic strategy. During my meetings with our friend and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in the last few years the depths of possibilities of the division of labor and cooperation have been plumbed increasingly deep and relevant practical steps introduced. Thus we can note that in the very sphere of high technology, which is of such great signiificance for the future, there has developed at the present time a closer and more effective cooperation than ever before. This fills us with joy. The cooperation with the Soviet Union goes hand in hand with millions of meetings between the two countries' citizens. Who does not remember that fascinating meeting of a "special kind" in 1978 between Sigmund Jaehn and Valeriy Bykovskiy in orbit? Thanks to our friendship the first German in space just had to be a citizen of the GDR. This event, too, must not be forgotten when reviewing the 40 years of the GDR.

One can rightly observe: anything which is vital to us we shall solve together. Naturally the Soviet Union's raw material supplies for our national economy are included, as is the joint development of consumer goods production. Differences in management and planning of the economy must not hamper this cooperation—with that we fully agree with our Soviet comrades. This conviction guides us in all our dealing with all the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. An impairment of the far-reaching mutual interlocking would always disadvantage both partners. But from their intelligent expansion all sides, and finally the CEMA, as a whole, gain.

All in all the balance-sheet of these 40 years of the GDR shows: great things were achieved through the work of the people and for the people. Also in the future no small effort will be required. New challenges demand new solutions, and we shall find an answer to each new question. We shall find them together with the people while marching forward on the path of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. We are taking into account the increasing dynamics of the productive forces by developing socialist production conditions. Thus it will be possible, both in the national economy and in individual enterprises, to introduce new products and technologies more speedily and to react more flexibly to the demands of supplying the population and the international market.

This means extending the scope for initiative in the combines, enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, and scientific institutions. Everyone can play a part and that calls for a broader, even more effective development of socialist democracy. Here we build on the active participation of the trade unions, in particular. The promotion of the people's health, rest, and leisure in a diverse way remains an important concern.

We will continue our social policy on the basis of increasing economic achievements, whereby housing construction is a paramount concern. At the same time, it is important to pay greater attention to the need for consumer goods and services, which is developing a diverse manner. Naturally the crafts and trades have a place in all these steps and are being promoted.

Everyone has a place in the GDR, regardless of ideology and religion. With its humanist concerns, socialism offers scope for the development of each personality. Thus everyone is also called upon to work in a resourceful way in our common aims for the welfare of the people.

The GDR's development has always been accompanied by a rich spiritual-intellecutal life. Further important possibilities have been created for this through the building of numerous cultural facilities. It is our wish and our conviction that cultural figures will utilize their talent, abilities, and the social possibilities offered them even more actively in order to enrich the spiritual life of the people, inspired by great humanist ideals, and to disseminate the values of socialism.

In preparation for the 12th SED Congress, open and trustful consultations are in progress in town and country, in the enterprise and in residential party organizations, in the trade unions, and in the National Front. This corresponds with the traditions of our socialist democracy. In the coming weeks and months issues of the development of our socialist GDR, which have emerged, will be discussed further. The party congress will take the necessary decisions on them. As in the past, in future our republic's development will also be the work of the whole country.

In the GDR's 40 years, which marks a totally new chapter in the history of our people, have at the same time brought about in the most memorable way the awareness of the need, but also the preciousness of a lasting peace. Never again must war emanate from German soil: This affirmation corresponds with a crucial lesson from the past. Here it has become state policy. We have set it above everything we have done so up to now and shall continue to do, so that the socialist GDR may flourish and the family of European peoples may live in security and harmony. Our country is fulfilling its responsibility reliably in the center of the continent, on the dividing line between the two alliance systems.

In looking back at the post-1949 period, there was more than once an acute danger that the cold war would turn into a hot war. The GDR played a no less active role in the developments which made possible the European system of treaties, the Helsinki Final Act, and a large number of advances. And then came the early 1980's, the new missiles in the FRG and other NATO states. In a difficult situation we said: Now for peace more than ever! When the nuclear threat escalated as a result of the new weapons, we demanded: The devilry must go! and when the negotiations were deadlocked it was once again we who, in agreement with our allies, made prior unilateral concessions. The GDR can also regard the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium-range missiles, as an important result of its efforts to begin nuclear disarmament.

However, much positive changes improving the international situation fill us with satisfaction, we do not disregard the negative trends. Only recently did NATO reiterate its concept of a "policy of strength" and "nuclear deterrence" and made no bones about modernizing various weapons. An attempt is being made here to force a new arms race on socialism and to slow down the disarmament process, yet in international politics the agenda calls for its continuation without delay both in the nuclear and conventional sphere. Moreover, we cannot and must not overlook the fact that the FRG has failed to follow the example of the GDR's unilateral disarmament steps with so much as a single soldier.

We welcome the planned summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush in the spring or early summer of 1990. More stable, more constructive, and closer relations between the two great powers can only have a positive effect on the world situation. As the recent talks between the foreign ministers of the two states showed, the signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons has become a real prospect. It has been possible to achieve significant progress regarding a restriction of underground nuclear weapons tests and nuclear explosions. This meets with our full support, as do the Soviet Union's proposals for speeding up the Vienna negotiations on a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces. The signing of a treaty on the abolition of chemical weapons will be of great importance.

The Warsaw Pact states' peace program, which was further developed at the Bucharest meeting of its Political Consultative Committee, contains a comprehensive and practical disarmament concept. What goal could be more humane than the preservation of mankind from destruction in a nulcear inferno and the banishing of wars from the lives of the peoples. Disarmament will permit the release of huge resources which can be directed toward the solution of the global problems dealt with at the conference of the nonaligned states; underdevelopment, hunger, illiteracy. Not least, it will be possible to promote protection of the natural environment. The arms and armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO much be reduced until they are incapable of attack, and by this creating an important guarantee that international disputes will no longer be settled by militarily, but solely by peaceful means.

Wholly in this spirit, the GDR, together with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Polish People's Republic, has undertaken numerous initiatives, and these proposals to create nuclear and chemical weapon free zones and zones of confidence, have not lost in topicality, but rather have gained. At the same time, our country, like other Warsaw Pact states, is reducing its armed forces unilaterally and independently of negotiations by the end of 1990. Permit me to mention that, to this end, the steps which have already been realized will be followed by yet another step in the next few days. As part of UN Disarmament Week, Tank Regiment 8 of the National People's Army in Goldberg and Fighter Squadron 7 in Drewitz will be disbanded on 24 and 25 October respectively. Our responsibility for peace, faced with the unchanged NATO strategy, does, however, also require us to safeguard our defense capability at the requisite levels.

In sharp contrast to our policy are FRG politicians' revanchist demands which are met with worldwide concern and protest. There is talk of the "continuation of the German Reich along the borders of 1937." The postwar order is being questioned and the thesis of the alleged open German question is being advanced louder than before. The revival of the impudent claims to sole representation of the 1950's and 1960's culiminates in the so-called "duty to care for all Germans." In this respect, too, the common ground between revanchist Bonn politicians and the strengthening neo-Nazis is apparently considerable.

The appearance of the neo-Nazis in the FRG political arena gives cause for concern. In view of the fact that an attempt is being made to deny or play down the existence of neo-Nazism, I would also like to remind you of the fact that under the Nazi regime I, along with two other comrades, was placed in the "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler" prison for "treatment" when the present leader of the "Republicans" was serving as an SS leader. There is no doubt that such elements in FRG politics, which disturb the whole world, are urgently in need of reform.

The internationally coordinated unbridled campaign of slander which is now being conducted against the GDR, is aimed at confusing people and sowing doubt about the power and the advantages of socialism. This can only strengthen us in our intention to continue to do all we can for a peaceful European home. Coexistence and cooperation between states with different social orders in such a home should develop well. There is a solid basis for this in the Helsinki Final Act and in other CSCE documents. However, we will allow no one to abuse these agreements in order to destabilize socialism. Strict respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and noninterference in internal affairs are indispensible.

The German Democratic Republic has advanced on its path with results which reinforce our people in their awareness of their strength and value of all their efforts in building a new, dignified, meaningful life. Socialism and peace are and will remain the key concepts in what has been accomplished so far and in what has to be accomplished in the future. We advance toward it with vigor and confidence. In its 5th decade too, the socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil will constantly prove anew through its actions for the welfare of the people, through its contribution to peace, security, and international cooperation, that its founding in October 1949 was a turning point in the history of the German people and Europe.

Long live the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic!

Gorbachev Joins Honecker in Celebration

Leaders View Youth Union March

LD0610195789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A torch-lit procession, by means of which the Free German Youth is acknowledging the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, began this evening in Berlin city center. More than 100,000 girls and boys from all parts of the country are taking part in the rally between the Brandenburg Gate and Marx-Engels Square, where on 11 October 1949 the young generation greeted the newly elected president of the first German workers' and peasants' state that had been founded a few days previously, Wilhelm Pieck.

Erich Honecker, Mikhail Gorbachev and the other foreign guests present for the GDR National Day are in attendance at the torchlight procession on the Unter Den Linden. Berhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ [Free German Youth], will make a speech.

Youth Chief Addresses Procession

LD0610223389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2001 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—It was with a torchlight procession that the Free German Youth (FDJ) acknowledged the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR this evening in Berlin.

Between the Brandenberg Gate and Marx-Engels Square, where on 11 October 1949 the young generation greeted Wilhelm Pieck, the newly elected president of the first German workers' and peasants' state, which had been founded several days previously, more than 100,000 girls and boys reaffirmed their desire to strengthen and protect socialism in the GDR.

On the Unter Den Linden, Erich Honecker, other members of the GDR party and state leadership, Mikhail Gorbachev, and other foreign guests there for the GDR national day were received with great joy.

"Risen from the ruins, a state of peace and freedom was founded 40 years ago for the first time in German history, a republic of democracy and of socialism, a country that wanted to bring the people and its youth a better life and did so, our German Democratic Republic," Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, said in an address.

It was and remains the wish of the FDJ to strengthen and to protect socialism in the GDR, to implement the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], to continue all that is good and noble in German history, to act in the spirit of humanism and progress. "It was and remains our resolution to shape our country, using the strength of the whole nation, so that it is ever-more beautiful and worth living in; to watch over and protect what has been achieved and to add to it our own new contributions," Aurich continued.

"We strongly reject the enemies of peace and socialism, those who, particularly in the FRG, under the flag of anticommunism, revanchism, and neofascism, interfere in our affairs, attack our workers' and peasants' state, and wish to abolish it. But we will not allow the wheel of history to be turned back. We will determine our future in socialism ourselves.

We have our lives before us. Hence we face up to the responsibility, together with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of socialism, with all peace-loving people, of fighting for a world without war or international disputes, without nuclear weapons and without hunger, without exploitation and racial hated. We want to preserve peace and protect the environment, we want a future for mankind in dignity," Aurich stressed.

"This country is our country. We are at home here. We still intend to do a lot here. Here we implement our plans and create our happiness. Here we work and learn, study and research, dance and love. Here we want to live in friendship and help one another."

Eberhard Aurich presented to Erich Honecker a document about the 'FDJ Pledge, GDR 40'. This refers, among other things, to the results of youth projects and FDJ action in homebuilding, the electrification of railway tracks, the saving of material and energy in agriculture and in the preservation of forests.

Leaders View Parade

LD0710092189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A parade of honor by the GDR National People's Army on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the state began at 1000 on Berlin's Karl-Marx Allee. Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, other leading representatives from the entire world who have travelled to the GDR's capital, as well as the membrs of the GDR state and party leadership are attending the start of celebrations on the national day.

In the course of the day, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev will meet for talks. This evening, the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee will give a state reception at the Palace of the Republic.

This afternoon there will be a grand mounting of the guard at the memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism on Unter den Linden.

Citizens are celebrating the republic's birthday with festive events in the capital and all areas of the GDR.

Honecker, Gorbachev Hold Talks

LD0710102489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1017 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met this morning in Berlin for a talk.

Berlin Festivities Described

LD0710114789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1048 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A parade of honor by the National People's Army [NVA] on the national holiday in Berlin demonstrated the determination look after, always securely, what has been created by the workers in 4 decades. A dense row of Berliners and guests to the capital lined the route in the Karl-Marx Allee, which was decorated with flags. Erich Honecker and other members of the GDR party and state leadership were greeted with applause. The parade of troops and technology was also witnessed by the foreign representatives who are in the

GDR for the anniversary of the republic, including Mikhail Gorbachev, who also received warm greetings from the spectators.

Among the guests at the parade were Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the USSR's Western Group of Forces; Lieutenant General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the USSR Military Council and chief of the Western Group's political directorate, and Army General Vladimir Shuralov, representative of the commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states in the GDR NVA.

The signal for the parade after the 10th chime of the town hall clock marked the start of the military ceremony. GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler congratulated the members of the NVA and border troops on the GDR's national day.

In accordance with tradition, the infantry opened the march-past. They were followed by march formations with members of the officers' armed services training colleges. The motorized parade troops, armored personnel carriers, paratroopers, and reconnaisance troop then followed. Combat vehicles with guided antitank missiles led the march-past of the artillery parade formation.

Visible to all was the fact that in this year's parade the number of armored vehicles was significantly below that of previous years. This underlines the fact that the GDR is steadfastly implementing the unilateral disarmament initiative announced by Erich Honecker at the beginning of the year. It provides for a reduction of the personnel strength of the NVA by 10,000 men, the dismantling of six tank regiments and an air squadron, as well as the reduction of 600 tanks and 50 combat aircraft. All this is aimed at molding the defensive character of the GDR armed forces even more clearly. Further evidence of this was the antitank artillery, the guns of which, serve exclusively the interception of tanks and armored vehicles.

The parade was then dominated by further artillery units with self-propelled howitzers and anti-aircraft missiles of various types. Tactical missiles of the ground forces then concluded the parade of honor.

Following the parade, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev met for talks. The two politicians had given addresses at yesterday's festive celebration in Berlin's Palace of the Republic.

During a visit to the planetarium in Berlin's Ernst-Thaelmann Park this morning, Raisa Gorbachev experienced a journey through space and time projected by Zeiss high technology. The building, which is in the workers' area of Prenzlauer Berg, which is rich in tradition, houses one of the most modern palentariums' in the world.

The GDR leading representatives received greetings from all over the world on the national holiday. In the greetings addresses from the party and state leaderships of the socialist countries, the GDR's decades-long active contribution to the strengthening of socialism and the consolidation of peace was acknowledged. At the same time, the firm certainty was expressed that the friendship and the all-round cooperation among the fraternal parties and states would deepen further.

Heads of state and government leaders from other states, as well as representatives from international organizations, linked their congratulations with the desire to further develop cooperation. Greetings and congratulations also arrived from representatives of communist and workers' parties from non-socialist countries, other friendly parties and movements of national liberation. After public festivals in all parts of the GDR, a state reception in Berlin will close the festivities on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Honecker-Gorbachev Talks Detailed

LD0710170889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, met Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Berlin today for a detailed exchange of opinion. In an atmosphere of traditional friendship and solidarity they discussed questions of socialist construction in their countries, further deepening bilateral relations, and the international situation.

Subsequently there was a cordial meeting between the members and candidate members of the SED Politburo Central Committee and Mikahil Gorbachev. During the friendly meeting Erich Honecker, on behalf of the citizens of the GDR, gave thanks for the congratulations from the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the citizens of the USSR on the 40th anniversary of the GDR's founding, which Mikhail Gorbachev conveyed. The high esteem contained in them of the achievements of the GDR people in the construction of a modern socialist German state, the contribution made by the GDR in the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente, as well as the continually developing fraternal relations between the SED and the CPSU and the GDR and the USSR provide an incentive and an obligation not to flag in future efforts to strengthen socialism and to secure peace.

Erich Honecker recalled that noteworthy construction has been carried out by the people and for the people under the leadership of the SED in the ruins of World War II and that fundamental revolutionary changes have been realized.

The GDR people, it was underlined by the leading representative of the GDR, will never forget the comprehensive and comradely support granted to them by the Soviet Union in the last 40 years and today. The party and the country of Red October have always been a reliable friend of the workers' and peasants' state on German soil. The indestructible fraternal bond with the

CPSU and the USSR as well as its firm anchorage in the socialist community also provide a secure pledge for the GDR's successful development.

During the talk Erich Honecker gave information on the preparation for the 12th SED Congress. He stressed that the SED will continue consistently with its proven course, directed toward the well-being of the people, the unity of economic and social policy, and continuity and renewal. The SED views the shaping of developed socialist society in the future as well as a historic process of deep political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes, while the hopes of bourgeois politicians and ideologues who are counting on reforms in the direction of bourgeois democracy and on to capitalism are built on sand. The GDR is holding fast to the basic values of socialism. Attempts to push back and eliminate socialism on German soil will remain without prospect in the future too.

Mikhail Gorbachev paid tribute to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR as a significant event in the life of the peoples of the GDR and the USSR. He stressed that the successful development of the GDR is of considerable importance for the positions of socialism. For 4 decades now, the GDR has occupied a worthy place in the family of European peoples. Its existence and its consistent resourceful work have been a significant contribution to ensuring peace, security, and stability on the European continent.

During the exchange of views, Mikhail Gorbachev informed Erich Honecker about the efforts of the Soviet Communists to implement the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and 19th All-Union Party Congress of the CPSU. He explained the results of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationalities policy. He reported in detail on the implementation of the tasks involved in further developing the economy and in raising the living standards of the Soviet people, as well as on progress in reforming the political system. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the policy of restructuring is of historic importance for the USSR, and that the USSR will continue at the forefront of revolutionary changes. There is no alternative to this course.

Erich Honecker reaffirmed the unanimous support of the SED and the people of the GDR for the aims pursued by the CPSU. He wished the communists and all the workers of the USSR success in the implementation of the set tasks. With perestroyka the CPSU has tackled an exceedingly difficult but necessary process. It is of decisive significance for consolidating the position of socialism and securing peace in the world.

The participants in the talks expressed satisfaction at the continuous development of relations between the GDR and the USSR, which are unprecedented in their intensity and variety, and the basis and motor of which are the close militant bond and the trusting cooperation between the SED and the CPSU. They stated agreement on the principle questions of foreign policy and socialist construction. In striving to lend a new quality to socialism and to increase its powers of radiation the two parties start from the same ideas and values. They are firmly determined to expand further cooperation, so far rich in success, between the SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR, for the benefit of both peoples in the interests of strengthening the socialist community and guaranteeing peace.

Pointing to the increasing integration of the two countries' economies, the partners in the talk reaffirmed their intention to continue to concentrate economic cooperation chiefly on the development and broad application of key technologies. With the concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation to the year 2000, the two countries have at their disposal a blueprint for the still closer integration of their economies reaching far into the future. The coordination of the national economic plans for the period 1991-95 is, taking into consideration growing demands, aimed at creating stable bases for joint progress. Cooperation in the intellectual-cultural sphere is being shaped with a view to the turn of the millenium.

Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that further deepening of bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the socialist countries is particularly important. No country among the socialist community of states is in a position to master the challenges of the present and the future alone. It is, on the contrary, necessary to intensify collaboration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and to adjust the activity of these organizations to the new requirements.

The leading representatives of the GDR and USSR emphasized their countries' willingness to continue to work actively for the realization of the Warsaw Pact common peace program. The positive changes in international relations acheived so far make plain that the chosen path is holding out the promise of success. However, it cannot be ignored that a fundamental change for the better has still not turned up. It is obvious that certain NATO forces are slowing down the disarmament process and are quite openly adhering to the struggle for military superiority.

Erich Honecker underlined that the GDR fully and totally supports the initiatives and steps of the USSR for peace, disarmament, and detente. The proposals submitted by the Soviet side during the latest negotiations with the U.S. secretary of state were calculated to give a new impetus to the disarmament process.

The speakers stressed that the construction of a common European home demands constructive action. Such a building can only be based on the foundations of the European postwar order. Complete respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of each country in its present borders as well as respect for the principle of non-intervention are indispensable for this reason.

Mikhail Gorbachev stated emphatically that the Soviet Union is and remains a true friend and ally of the GDR. The USSR is determined to strictly adhere to the 7 October 1975 treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid. That should be clear to all who attempt to infringe on the sovereignty of the GDR and its independence.

The speakers announced the readiness of their countries to continue to develop normal, good-neighborly relations with the FRG. That requires, however, that the FRG be realistic and adhere to concluded treaties and agreements.

Gerasimov Describes Meeting

LD0710181689 Hamburg DPA in German 1734 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, during his 2-hour talk with GDR head of state and party leader Erich Honecker in East Berlin today, has also indirectly touched on reforms in the GDR.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said before journalists after the meeting, that Gorbachev had talked about the USSR policy of restructuring at home and had said that life constantly posed new tasks. The main point was to recognize and solve the needs of society.

"Life punishes those who arrive too late," Gerasimov quoted Gorbachev as having said. Observers assessed this as an indirect referent that reforms similar to those introduced in the Soviet Union in the social area should also be introduced in the GDR.

After the direct talk between Gorbachev and Honecker members of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo joined the two.

The GDR was for the Soviet Union a strategic ally and partner, Gorbachev had said. If the USSR was not making headway with perestroyka, then she would suffer losses. Furthermore, living conditions had to be improved. Likewise, the individual needed a corresponding atmosphere for reforms. Gorbachev had said that socialism needed a second wind. The policy of perestroyka had entered an important phase in the Soviet Union.

According to Gerasimov, Honecker has underlined that the GDR greatly appreciated the policy of restructing and wished the Soviet Union for its every success. The attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of a state had been repulsed together. In the view of observers this refers to the Federal Republic.

The refugee problem had not been discussed at the expanded meeting, Gerasimov said in reply to questions from journalists. Asked whether he saw a revolt coming in the GDR, Gerasimov said: "I did not watch television, only the torch procession." There would be no FDJ [Free German Youth] torch procession if there were indications for a revolt, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Gorbachev Leaves for Home

LD0710191189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, following his participation in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR, left for home today. At the flag-bedecked Berlin-Schoenefeld airport he was cordially seen off by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee Guenter Mittag, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Hermann Axen.

Several Countries Mark 40th Anniversary

AU1010133089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 89 p 5

[ND/ADN report: "Festive Events in Several Countries on the Occasion of the GDR Anniversary"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND/ADN)—The societies for friendship with the GDR in, among other countries, Italy, Ethiopia, Uruguay, and Mozambique commemorated the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with festive meetings.

At a festive event of the Italy-GDR Society in Rome on Wednesday [4 October], Professor Aldo Bernardini paid tribute to the achievements of the GDR as an antifascist state.

The history of the GDR is characterized by a consistent peace policy, Girma Yilma, Ethiopian minister for culture and sports, said during a festive event in Addis Ababa on the same day.

The Uruguay-GDR Friendship Society celebrated the anniversary of the republic with a festive meeting in Montevideo, which was attended by Ulrich Fahl, president of the GDR-Latin America Friendship society and secretary of the Main Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany.

In Mozambique the GDR is respected as one of the countries that advocate peace, disarmament, and detente. This was started by Julio Goncalo Braga, secretary general of the Mozambican League for Friendship and Solidarity Among Peoples, at the opening of an exhibition on the GDR's history in Maputo on Wednesday.

Chinese Delegation Visits for Anniversaries

LD0310090489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1308 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A party and state delegation from the PRC arrived at Berlin-Schoenefeld today for an official friendly visit and to attend the festivities on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The delegation, which was invited by Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and GDR Central Committee government, is headed by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council. It was warmly welcomed at the airport by Suenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and other public figures.

Leaders Stress Cooperation

LD0310095289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1949 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR and Chinese politicians stressed today in Berlin the great significance of friendship and cooperation between the two countries in the joint struggle for socialism, peace, and social progress. At a dinner in honor of Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council, the Chinese statesman and the host, Guenther Kleiber, member Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, expressed the conviction that the most reactionary forces of imperialism will not succeed in turning back the wheel of history and eradicating socialism from the map.

Guenther Kleiber stated in his toast that the visit of the Chinese guests and their participation in the GDR's anniversary celebrations reflect a very successful development of the relations between the two parties, states, and peoples in all spheres. We feel satisfaction that in 1989 as well the future, comprehensive expansion of our relations could be continued, Guenther Kleiber said. The visit of a party and government delegation under the leadership of Egon Krenz, the meeting of the economic commission of the two countries, the signing of the legal aid agreement, and the Peking Days in Berlin showed this in particular.

Meetings with General Secretary Jiang Zemin, President Yangh Shangkun, and other leading members of the party and state leadership of the PRC have deepened the relationship of trust between the two parties, states, and peoples. That allows for hope in respect of a continuous successful development of relations in all areas concerning future prosperous cooperation in the spirit of the 40th anniversaries of the PR, the GDR, and the institution of diplomatic relations.

We unwaveringly approach the fundamental questions of our time from the same positions and expectations, the speaker noted. In this regard the recent events in China are also a common lesson. We are certain that the PR will achieve further successes in the building of socialism under the leadership of the CPC, which has been tested in struggle. Guenther Kleiber said that he would use this occasion to give again an assurance of the steadfast solidarity of the party, government, and people of the GDR.

The most reactionary forces have intensified the class struggle and the ideological clash in international relations by means of the present antisocialist offensive, in which the GDR is a main target of attack, Guenther Kleiber said. New success for the policy of reason and realism requires even more unwavering efforts by all forces of peace and progress, in particular of the socialist states. The GDR will also make in the future an important contribution to this by means of its unchanging policy of dialogue oriented toward results.

The GDR greets the PRC's commitment to detente and disarmament in the nuclear and conventional area, against the militarization of space, for the peaceful solution of existing conflicts, and for a development of international cooperation on the basis of joint usefulness and mutual advantage.

The people of the GDR have built the first workers and peasants state on German soil in the last four decades under the SED's leadership on the ruins of the war, with its own prudence and strength, and by means of hard work, Yao Yilin said in his reply. In particular, since the beginning of the seventies the GDR had pursued, starting from its own conditions, the course of the unity of economic and social policy, with the result that the national economy and the lives of the population have experienced great changes and have considerable successes to show. The Chinese politician praised the GDR's untiring efforts to preserve world peace and to promote detente and dialogue in Europe, and its important contributions to this. According to Yao Yilin, the GDR is today a political stable, economically developed socialist country, whose international standing is constantly increasing.

In the past 40 years the new China under the CPC's leadership has attained globally recognized successes in socialist construction, the speaker said. We have carried out comprehensive economic construction according to plan and have mainly solved the problem of food and clothing for 1.1 billion people. The facts convincingly show that it is only socialism which can save China and that the CPC's leading role is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of socialism in China.

To carry out socialist modernizations China needs a lasting peaceful international environment. Initial steps have been taken in disarmament and a change had been introduced in the elimination of regional conflicts. But one must attend to and be watchful of numerous complicated and delicate factors which still exist in the world. China will pursue unwaveringly the independent and separate foreign policy of peace and is ready to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, the speaker remarked. China supports emphatically the construction of a new order of international politics on this basis.

Relations between the two states and parties entered a new phase of development with the visit of Erich Honecker to the PRC in 1986. The friendly cooperation in various areas has experienced comprehensive development which not only corresponds to the fundamental interests of both countries and peoples but which also serves the preservation of world peace. Yao Yilin expressed finally the conviction that the tree of friendly cooperation between the PRC and the GDR will certainly by means of joint efforts bear new, rich fruit.

Delegation Visits Factory

LD0410005189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2024 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—The party and government delegation from the PRC that is staying in the GDR at the invitation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee for an official friendship visit today visited the Halle Bezirk [Area]. The delegation is led by Yao Yilin, member of the standing committee of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the State Council. [passage omitted]

The relations between the two parties, states, and peoples are characterized by a tradition of friendship, Yao Yilin said. An eloquent example of this are the manifold forms of fruitful cooperation that are clearly in evidence here in the Halle Bezirk itself.

In the Dessau freight car construction factory, almost 400 Chinese citizens are obtaining qualifications as specialists in the construction of rail vehicles. During a tour of the works, which in 1955 supplied the first refrigerator cars to the People's Republic, the guests were informed that in the current 5-year plan, 1,002 refrigerator cars will be manufactured for the Chinese state railway. Moreover, the GDR is providing comprehensive support in the construction of a railway car factory in Wuhan.

In discussions in an agricultural enterprise in Kobbelsdorf, Yao Yilin stressed that he has clearly felt that the peasant class in the GDR has secure prospects.

Yao Yilin's Toast

AU0510204189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 5

[Toast proposed by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council, at dinner given in his honor by Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in Berlin on 2 October: "Friendship Between the Two Peoples Has a Long Tradition"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Guenther Kleiber, comrades and friends:

The PRC party and government delegation has accepted with great pleasure the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the GDR Government to visit your beautiful country in order to participate in the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, while at the same time paying a visit of friendship to the GDR. First of all, please allow me, on behalf of all comrades of our delegation as well as on my own behalf, to convey sincere thanks to the SED Central Committee and the GDR Government for the friendly invitation and the kind reception that was extended to us. We also thank Comrade Guenther Kleiber for his warm-hearted words.

International Standing of Your Country Is Constantly Increasing

We have arrived shortly before the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. On behalf of the CPC, the PRC Government, and the Chinese people, I convey most cordial and solemn congratulations to the SED, the government and the people of the GDR. The people of the GDR, under the leadership of the SED, have built the first worker-peasant state on German soil during the past 4 decades on the ruins of the war, with its own prudence and strength, and by means of hard work. This state has its place among the developed countries of the world. Particularly since the beginning of the seventies, the GDR has pursued, starting from its own conditions, the course of the unity of economic and social policy, with the result that the national economy and the lives of the population have experienced great changes and have achieved considerable success. The GDR is untiringly making efforts to preserve world peace, to promote detente and dialogue in Europe, and has made sizable contributions in this respect. The GDR is today a politically stable and economically developed socialist country whose international standing is constantly increasing. Dear comrades, the great successes that you have achieved during the past 40 years fill us with sincere joy and admiration.

Leading Role of the CPC—Guarantor of Success in Construction

The PRC and the GDR are both socialist states that were founded in the same year and the same month. Only a few days ago the Chinese people celebrated the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. During the past 40 years, the new China, under the leadership of the CPC, has achieved globally recognized successes in socialist construction, despite the fact that there were certain obstacles to overcome. We have carried out comprehensive economic construction according to plan, established a more or less complete industrial system, and mainly solved the problem of food and clothing for 1.1 billion people. Particularly following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee Congress in 1978, at which the policy of reform and external opening was adopted, the social productive forces of our country have developed quickly, the economic power has increased considerably, and the lives of the people have improved visibly. These facts demonstrate convincingly that it is only socialism that can save China and that the CPC's leading role is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of socialism in China. We are firmly convinced that our country can develop into a flourishing, strong, and modern socialist country with a broad democracy and a developed civilization through incessant efforts by the entire Chinese people.

Vigilance Continues To Be Required Despite Initial Disarmament Steps

To carry out socialist modernization, China needs a lasting peaceful international environment. We believe that the current international situation shows signs of a transition from tension to detente and from confrontation to dialogue. Initial steps have been taken in the sphere of disarmament and a change has been introduced in the elimination of regional conflicts. However, one must attend to and be watchful of numerous complicated and unstable factors that still exist in the world. China will pursue unwaveringly the independent and separate foreign policy of peace and is ready to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We emphatically support the construction of a new order of international politics on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Despite the fact that China and the GDR are geographically far apart, we are closely linked with each other trough the traditional friendship between our two parties, states, and peoples.

New Phase Ushered in Through Honecker Visit

Relations between our two states and parties entered a new phase of development with the visit by Erich Honecker to the PRC in 1986. Friendly cooperation in various areas, such as politics, the economy, trade, science, technology, and culture, has experienced comprehensive development. This does not only correspond to the fundamental interests of our two countries and peoples, but it also serves the preservation of world peace. The Chinese party and government will develop long-term, stable, far-reaching, and comprehensive relations with the GDR on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual confidence and equal rights, and on the basis of mutual advantage. We are convinced that the tree of friendly cooperation between the PRC and GDR will certainly bear new, rich fruit as a result of joint efforts.

In conclusion, I ask you to raise your glasses with me and drink to:

—The flourishing and prospering of the GDR and the happiness of your people;

—The further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the PRC and GDR;

—The preservation of world peace;

—The well-being of Comrade Guenther Kleiber;

—The well-being of all comrades and friends who are present!

Kleiber Toasts PRC Delegation

AU0510204889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 5

[Toast by Guenther Kleiber, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, proposed the following toast at dinner given in honor of a PRC delegation headed by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council, in East Berlin on 2 October: "GDR and PRC Unwaveringly in Favor of Strengthening Socialism"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Yao Yilin, esteemed Comrade Gu Xiulian, dear Comrade Ambassador Zhang Dake, dear friends and comrades:

I would like to tell you once more how pleased we are to be able to welcome Comrade Yao Yilin and his entourage in Berlin. Your visit to the GDR and your participation in the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist state on German soil is an expression of the very successful development of relations between our two parties, states, and peoples in all spheres.

Relationship of Trust Further Strengthened

We feel satisfaction that the further comprehensive expansion of our relations was continued in 1989. The visit by a party and government delegation under the leadership of Comrade Egon Krenz on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the PRC, the fifth meeting of the economic commission, the signing of the legal aid agreement, and the Beijing Days in Berlin showed this in particular. Meetings between Comrades Egon Krenz and Guenter Schabowski and Comrade General Secretary Jiang Zemin, Comrade President Yang Shangkun, and other leading members of the PRC party and state leadership have deepened the relationship of trust between our parties, states, and peoples. This allows for hope concerning future fruitful cooperation in the spirit of the 40th anniversary of the PRC, the GDR, and the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples are based on a longstanding revolutionary tradition, on common goals, and mutual respect and support.

We unwaveringly approach the fundamental questions of our time from the same positions and expectations. In this regard, the recent events in China were also a common lesson. We are certain that the PRC will achieve further successes in the building of socialism under the leadership of the PRC, which has been tested in struggle. I take this occasion to assure you once more of the steadfast solidarity of our party, the government, and the people of the GDR.

Under the leadership of our party, the working people of the GDR are currently making considerable efforts to prepare for the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in a dignified way in all spheres.

This means that we will continue the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy that guarantees a secure existence and a constantly growing intellectual and material standard for all citizens of our socialist state, and a secure basis for the further dynamic development of our national economy. We will not be diverted from this tested course by the defamation and slander campaign of the imperialist class opponent, no matter how vehement it may be.

A complicated process from confrontation toward cooperation has started at the international level. However, as has become apparent, this development has not yet become irreversible. Imperialism continues to pursue the goal of eliminating socialism from the map. The most reactionary forces have intensified the class struggle and the ideological conflicts in international relations through the present antisocialist offensive, in which the GDR is the main target of attack. New success for the policy of reason and realism requires even more unwavering efforts by all forces of peace and progress, in particular by the socialist states. In the future the GDR will also make an important contribution to this with its unchanging policy of dialogue oriented toward results.

Cooperation to the Advantage of All Sides

The GDR welcomes the PRC's commitment to detente and disarmament in the nuclear and conventional area, against the militarization of space, to peaceful solutions to existing conflicts, and to a development of international cooperation on the basis of joint usefulness and mutual advantage. We are convinced that the PRC will continue to use its significant weight in favor of the forces of reason and realism.

I would like to express the conviction that the successful cooperation between our two states is of great importance for socialist construction, for world socialism, and for peace.

Comrade Yao Yilin, we would like to cordially thank you for your personal contribution to deepening the friendship between the GDR and the PRC.

I ask you to raise your glasses and drink to:

—The strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace;

—Further successes in building socialism in the PRC;

—The traditional friendship and deepening comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples;

—The well-being of Comrade Yao Yilin; and

—The well-being and to the health of all comrades and friends present!

Stoph, Kleiber Hold Talks

LD0410193189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and China will continue in the future to make every effort to further advance the disarmament and detente process in the interests of improving the international situation. This was underlined by Willi Stoph and Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, today at a meeting in Berlin. Yao Yilin heads the Chinese friendship delegation taking part in the celebrations to mark the GDR's 40th anniversary.

The paramount task is to agree without delay to new measures for a significant reduction in military confrontation in nuclear, conventional and other weapons types and to prevent a new round in a qualitative arms race.

Willi Stoph made an assessment of the 40 years of GDR development and said that proceeding from the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy, socialism in the GDR has been steadily further developed and perfected. It is precisely because of the successes in building socialism that the class opponent is currently trying to destabilize the development of the GDR and other socialist states. The GDR and the PRC have already frequently been confronted by such attempts and have successfully thwarted them under their parties' leadership.

Yao Yilin outlined the further stabilization of the situation in China following the counterrevolutionary uprising in Beijing and the associated current tasks. For China a further development of the welfare of the people is only possible through strict adherence to the socialist path under the leadership of the Communist Party. This is also the goal of the present reforms in perfecting the socialist system. All attempts by Western states to interfere in the internal affairs of China are condemned to failure. Yao Yilin again thanked him on behalf of the Chinese party and state leadership for the GDR solidarity in connection with the June events.

The two politicians spoke out in favor of a further dynamic development of cooperation between their countries.

The steadily deepening cooperation between the governments, parliaments and social organizations of the GDR and China was also central to a talk between Guenter Kleiber, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo and first deputy GDR premier, and Yao Yilin. Special importance was attached to cooperation in the economic and scientific-technical sphere. The two politicians noted a gratifying development of cultural and scientific relations. An important tool for further development is the comprehensive system of treaties created between the two countries, which were extended in August by a further important sphere of bilateral relations with the signing of the legal assistance treaty.

Yao Yilin said that the CPC is particularly concerned with perfecting the socialist system, the optimum development of the creative participation of all working people and the further development of productive forces. The decisive mobilizing force for this is the CPC, which is at present intensifying political education and upbringing on a Marxist-Leninist basis in order to meet its leading role. Following the decisive victory over the counterrevolutionary uprising it is making intensified efforts to strengthen its alliance with the masses.

The strategic concept for shaping advanced socialist society in the GDR continues to be proven correct, Guenther Kleiber noted. What has been tried and tested is retained and everything which hinders progress on the path to socialism in GDR colors is thrown overboard. The SED will not allow itself to be dissuaded by anything or anyone in its basic principle of doing everything for the welfare of the people and its peaceful future, said Guenther Kleiber, not even by a large-scale offensive by the opponents of socialism. The latter are currently trying, by means of a particularly intensive campaign of defamation and interference, to disrupt the GDR's stable socialist development. The GDR will successfully continue its course of stability and dynamism to strengthen socialism. However, it will never return to capitalism, but continue to generalize the experiences which steadily improve the socialist system, continually augment the material and spiritual standard of living and protect and multiply the basic values of socialism.

This afternoon the Chinese delegation honored the victims of fascism and militarism with a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial in Unter den Linden.

Mittag, Yao Yilin Consultations

LD0510204889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1841 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of China have entered a new stage. Guenter Mittag, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Yao Yilin, member of CPC Central Committee Standing Committee Politburo and vice premier of the State Council, who is heading the Chinese party and government delegation presently in the GDR, made this assessment today in Berlin. According to Guenter Mittag, fundamental common ground in social development on the path of socialism forms a very viable foundation for cooperation and its further prospects.

The SED, in its policies, consistently follows the path of continuity and renewal, Mittag said further during the talks. The balance that the GDR can draw in the 40 years of its path is characterized by far-reaching social reorganization and reforms. Capitalist exploitation has been done away with and all social development has been charaterized by the unity of economic and social policies, aimed at the well-being of the people. One of the basic principles is to continually examine what had been proven, what impedes and what has to be changed and wherever necessary to supply in a bold and determined way new problems for their solution, together with all the citizens. In this we know, Guenter Mittag added, that socialism arose in a struggle, is being formed in a struggle, and will further develop in a struggle.

Although this has been the historical truth for 4 decades on German soil, and has passed the test of history more than once, imperialist forces in the FRG are presently starting a new extensive attack against the GDR. This is, at the same time, an attack on the realities of postwar development in Europe. It will fail just as all these attempts have before. But it is of great significance for the GDR—as was shown—that it did not stand alone in this clash but was receiving solidarity and support from socialist countries. In this connection, he acknowledged in particular the unambiguous and clear position of the People's Republic of China and its communist party.

In the talk, Guenter Mittag and Yao Yilin discussed the further deepening of bilateral relations, in particular in the economic sphere. They praised the important results in the dynamic development of trade and in particular in the sphere of cooperation in production and technology which has been achieved in the past 3 years. Within a short period a significant intensification of cooperation has taken place.

The trade turnover between the two states will have nearly doubled by the end of 1989 compared with the 1985 level. Joint work is being undertaken to guarantee this dynamism. Impressive examples testify to the deepening of cooperation. There are a total of 44 agreements between the ministries and other state organs of the GDR and China, and a further 22 are under preparation.

The two sides concur that it is necessary and possible to take further steps on the basis of what has been achieved to deepen economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Guenter Mittag stressed in this connection that proven positive experiences in cooperation should be utilized and expanded and that new possibilities should at the same time be examined and developed. He presented a series of further proposals for this, which are to be examined and concretized in joint work. In particular he stressed the advantages of a more long-term agreement on cooperation with a view to the period 1991-1995 and the further expansion of cooperation.

Yao Yilin also expressed his conviction that new possibilities can be opened up in the sphere of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. An active and constructive contribution can be carried out in the joint work with the GDR in order to expand, the dynamism of bilateral economic relations both in the short term and longer term.

Yao Yilin outlined the way in which, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the socialist system in the PRC is being perfected with a great sense of responsibility and from a clear standpoint, whereby the relationship of trust with the working people is being strengthened and the development of the productive forces in the country is being consolidated. Great importance is attached to increasing labor productivity, further raising the quality of products, and introducing modern technologies.

The same day the Chinese party and government delegation visited the Central Institute for Socialist Economic management in the SED Central Committee in Berlin-Rahnsdorf, where director Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED Central Committee, explained the work of the institute to the guests.

Yao Yilin Visits Bezirk

LD0810221189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Cottbus (ADN)—The PRC party and government delegation, which is in the GDR, visited the Cottbus Bezirk on Sunday, the penultimate day of the friendship visit. It was welcomed by Werner Walde, candidate member of the Socialist Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk Executive.

Walde informed the delegation, which is led by Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and vice premier of the PRC state council, about the development of the Bezirk into an important center for the GDR's energy industry. [passage omitted]

Honecker Talks With Yao Yilin

LD0910165189 East Berlin International Service in German 1439 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, received for a friendly talk today Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council. Yao Yilin heads the party and government delegation of the PRC on an official friendship visit to the GDR, which attended the celebrations marking its 40th anniversary.

Yao Yilin conveyed fraternal greetings from Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary Jiang Zemin, President Yang Shangkun, and Premier Li Peng, for which Erich Honecker expressed his cordial thanks and which he reciprocated. The politicians emphasized during their extensive exchange of views that the relations, especially since Erich Honecker's visit to the PRC in 1986, have been developing dynamically and have deepened in all areas. The great significance of these relations consists for both countries above all in the common objectives of socialist construction and the preservation of mankind's greatest possession, world peace. In this spirit the full identity of views on mankind's most vital questions, such as the further development and improvement of socialism, may also be noted.

Erich Honecker reported on the account that the people of the GDR can draw up on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil. In particular he noted the fact that the GDR and the SED have always faced up to the requirements of the time. The concept, decided at the Eighth SED Congress, of the unity of economic and social policy has proven itself completely. Under the slogan of continuity and renewal, the GDR will advance unwaveringly in the further perfection of socialism.

The 12th SED Congress, which is being prepared with a thorough popular discussion on socialism in the nineties, will make the appropriate decisions for this.

Erich Honecker noted that 40 years of socialist construction in China and the remarkable achievements in the country's socialist modernization are of great importance, and not only for the Chinese people. The successes of the Chinese revolution have helped to form in an essential way the complexion of the contemporary world and have proven the attractiveness of socialism. The path to a bright future was opened up with the liberation of the Chinese people from the yoke of feudal and imperialist oppression.

The last four decades have made it clear that only socialism is in a position to solve fundamental social contradictions in the interests of the peoples and of the workers. There is no rational alternative to socialism, Erich Honecker affirmed. Every attempt by imperialism to destablize socialist construction and to defame its successes and achievements is now and in the future nothing more than the fruitless charging of a Don Quixote against the ceaselessly moving sails of a windmill.

Yao Yilin praised the stable and successful 40-year development of the GDR. In accordance with its specific conditions the GDR has constantly improved the economy in a continuous process of reforms and renewals and has made life in socialism for the people in the country ever more worthy of living. In the historically short time of its existence, the GDR has developed into a respected member of the family of peoples. The existence of the socialist GDR and its further prosperous development are of decisive significance for peace and stability in the heart of Europe. The GDR's policy of peace and dialogue extends far beyond the European framework.

Just as the Chinese people are pleased about GDR successes, Yao Yilin stressed, so they also view with outrage and contempt the actions of certain circles of imperialism to discredit the achievements of socialism in the GDR. Yao Yilin affirmed that the CPC and the PRC stand firmly beside the SED and the GDR. China stands with sympathy and full of confidence behind all the efforts that the people of the GDR undertake to consolidate socialism on German soil, to preserve its sovereignty, and to defend its achievements.

The partners in the talks agreed that at present it is possible to see a particularly aggressive antisocialist attitude of the imperialist class enemy with the aim of reversing socialist development. In this regard there is a basic lesson to be drawn from the counterrevolutionary uprising in Beijing and the present campaign of incitement against the GDR and other socialist states, to hold fast unwaveringly to the basic values of socialism and at the same time to constantly develop socialist society. That can take place, however, only if the working class and its party carry out their leading role.

The following took part in the talk: Guenter Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department; and Harry Ott, deputy foreign minister; and on the Chinese side Gu Xiulian, member of the CPC Central Committee and Chemical industry minister; Zhu Shanqing, deputy director of the CPC Central Committee International Liaison Department; and Liu Changjie, senior official at the PRC Embassy in the GDR.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD0910173489 East Berlin Adn International Service in German 1347 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The PRC party and government delegation led by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council, today ended its official friendship visit to the GDR.

The delegation, which was in the GDR at the invitation of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and the GDR Government, and which took part in the festivities marking the GDR's 40th anniversary, was seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and First deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Dr Guenther Wyschofsky, member of the SED Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers, leading representatives of the Foreign Ministry, and diplomats from the PRC Embassy in the GDR were present.

Radio Notes Formation of New Hungarian Party

LD0810224689 East Berlin Voice of Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] In Budapest, the Hungarian Socialist Party has constituted itself. It regards itself as the legal successor to the governing former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The founding of the new party, abbreviated to HSP, was adopted last night by majority vote of the delegates of the 14th Party Congress of the MSZMP Party Congress. Today the 1,300 or so delegates discussed the program and statutes of the new party. Our correspondent Wolfgang Grosse reports from the Hungarian capital:

[Grosse] The birth of the new party, which is to run against the now party-politically formed opposition in the upcoming presidential and parliamenary elections, was preceded by vehement disputes between the various strands in the previous MSZMP. For the first time, the members of various political tendencies appeared in closed groupings at this party congress, in the so-called platforms. A hot debate began between them on the character of the party, the renewal of the existing MSZMP or the founding of a new party. Finally, the so-called reform Alliance, led by Imre Poszgay, emerged as the strongest platform with more than four-fifths of delegates' votes in favor of a compromise paper. This statement contains the founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party, which, according to its program and statutes, is not a Communist Party any more, and abandons the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism. According to its founding statement, the new party proclaims the aim of a democratic socialism and a social market economy based on mixed ownership. Thirty-eight of the total of 1,300 or so delegates abstained; 159 delegates, including the previous MSZMP general secretary, Karoly Grosz, voted against the founding document. On Friday Grosz, in a speech that often met with applause, had warned against letting the working- class nature of the party diminish and weakening its social commitment. Grosz came out in favor of aligning relations with the socialist countries: As he said, the modernization of economic, political and cultural relations between Hungary and the Warsaw Pact states, CEMA and the neighboring countries is of strategic importance, not only for Hungary.

Even before the vote on the founding document, Reszo Nyers, who joined the leadership of the MSZMP a few months ago, and who in delegates' speeches was frequently proposed as chairman of the new party, outlined the nature of the Hungarian Socialist Party. He said, among other things, that the Hungarian Socialist Party must abandon narrowly defined class-based politics. One must distance oneself from those who wanted to make the HSP a bourgeois party. Speaking about international relations, Nyers announced the continuation of cooperation with communist parties and declared his commitment to cooperation with the Social Democratic parties and the Socialist International.

Tomorrow the party congress will end, and in the next few weeks the character of the new party will certainly begin to emerge more clearly.

New 'Ecologically Oriented' Party Forms

LD0810120789 Hamburg DPA in German 1147 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A Social Democrat Party has been founded in the GDR. The founding charter of the "Social Democratic Party in the GDR" (SDP, repeat SDP) was signed by several people, including some pastors from the GDR provinces.

The SDP intends to work toward an ecologically orientated social democracy, it says in the founding charter, which was published in East Berlin today.

Several dozen founding members attended the meeting in Schwante (GDR district of Oranienburg). There a 15-person executive was appointed. The party's whip is Berlin historian Ibrahim Boehme.

In light of the GDR's foreign and democratic policy situation, the members of the SDP now consider it "necessary to speak in favor of a consistent democratization of state and society by a party with democratic objectives," it said.

New Party's Charter

LD0810125189 Hamburg DPA in German 1155 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The text of the founding charter of the Social Democrat Party in the GDR (SDP) is as follows:

"The signatories hereby found the SDP in the German Democratic Republic. They declare themselves to be in complete agreement with the basic principle stated by the initiative group for the formation of the SDP to work toward an ecologically oriented social democracy. The members of the SDP seek cooperation with all democratic initiatives, groups, and persons in our country, regardless of their structure or ideological and social links.

In view of the GDR's internal and external political situation, the members of the SDP now consider it necessary to suport a committed democratization of state and society by a party with democratic aims. The appeal by the initiators before the founding of an SDP in the GDR has been circulating since 26 August 1989. The debates on the basic principles stated clearly show the necessity of reacting to the increasing destabilization of our country with content and structures of a binding nature, and in this way to aid the work for a democratic development.

[Signed] Schwante (Oranienburg district [kreis]), 7 October 1989."

6 Oct MSZMP Congress Proceedings Continue

Central Committee Report

LD0610175289 Budapest MTI in English 1445 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The report of the Central Committee endeavours to summarize the determining political processes from the party's point of view, and also outlines the short-term tasks of renewal.

The chapter summarizing the first steps of the change in model recalls the central thought of the party conference in May, 1988, according to which a genuine economic turn cannot be attained without the radical reform of the system of political institutions, and within this, of the party. The report states: The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] leadership made efforts to expand its scope of action with the critical evaluation of the past, and the creation of a programme that professes a new, modern socialism. At the same time, the document also notes that the various-level leading bodies of the party passed political decisions without the genuine participation of the membership even after the May party conference. It also stresses that the pace of reform has made a considerable part of the party membership uncertain, and this contributed to widening the distance betwen the leadership and party members. All this was also apparent in the decline in the number of HSWP members.

The second chapter of the report summarizes the home political power relations, the current situation of the party. It recalls how the opposition organizations were set up, their gaining political ground, the trilateral political talks, and the agreements reached there. The third chapter, which discusses the re-organization of the party, sets as fundamental aims the transition to democratic socialism, the break with the remnants of dictatorial socialism, with the bureaucratic party state. The report sets down: The renewing HSWP wishes to engage in politics in the interest of those workers, agricultural workers and professionals who want to prosper on the basis of their performance.

Congress Committee Heads Named

LD0610175989 Budapest MTI in English 1459 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The delegates approved the list of leaders of congress working committees. The Manifesto-Drafting Committee is headed by Imre Pozsgay, the Statute-Drafting Committee by Gyorgy Fejti. The leader of the Personnel Affairs Committee is Jeno Kovacs, of the Working Order Committee Laszlo Kovacs, the Mandate Committee Pal Vastagh, the Ballot-Counting Committee Kalman Gyuricsku, the Appeals Committee Sandor Balogh. The Expert Committee on Party Assets is headed by Imre Kovacs. The spokesmen of the congress are Janos Barabas and Laszlo Major.

News Conference Given

LD0610150989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] We go over to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress Center from where Zsolt Botkai and Miklos Martin-Kovacs report.

A quarter of an hour ago the afternoon session of the congress started with a speech by Secretary Jeno Kovacs.

As leader of the committee preparing the statutes, he emphasized that one of the leading principles of their work is the party, which proclaims democracy but which is dictatorial and in its own internal relations remains entangled in lies. He also said that, when formulating the new regulations, they have tried to bear in mind also the bitter lessons of the party's activity over several decades.

As we have already reported, before Jeno Kovacs, general secretary Karoly Grosz spoke about the Central Committee report. He said that although many people consider the main question nowadays is whether it is possible to create unity in the party or a rift has to occur, according to him, there is more to it than this, since the main goal is democratic socialsim. He added that it would be a historic mistake if the moderate and radical reformers fail to find a common denominator.

More than 80 percent of the delegates have never before taken part in a national conference or congress. This means that this consultation was started by a new generation, Pal Vastagh said at the international press conference which ended not long ago, where he participated as chairman of the Mandate-Examining Committee.

He promptly added that, in his view, the composition is bad regarding the fact that only a very small percentage, about 3 percent, of the participants are below 30 years of age.

The second speaker at the press conference was Laszlo Kovacs, chairman of the Procedural Committee. He said that the political platforms enjoy an advantage in the work, since when the debate starts on a certain topic they are the first to speak and they can talk longer than the representatives of the regional groups who are next in line. And before the debate is closed, the political groupings are given another chance to speak.

Poszgay on New 'Socialist Party'

LD0610162289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Report by correspondent Andras Kerekes from the 14th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party MSZMP Congress in Budapest]

[Text] The history of the MSZMP is, in essence, the history of the state party of the party state. The history of its membership, however, is not the same. It was this membership which was the bearer of the reform idea, of the will to change, without which the future would have no chance whatsoever. The history of the party state has now come to an end. From now on this membership is the subject [alany] and repository of the creation of a new socialist party.

Imre Pozsgay, party Presidium member, delivered an approximately 30-minute supplement to the political assessment submitted on the experiences of our historical path and to the drafts of the Party Program Declaration. I have been quoting from this contribution.

This supplement began after some delay. Prior to that, as a matter of fact, changing the planned order, Jeno Kovacs delivered his supplement to the draft of the party statutes. In fact, Imre Pozsgay was laying a wreath in memory of the Arad martyres and he did not get back by the end of the lunch break.

Csaba Hamori, who was in the chair, was about to give the platforms' representatives leave to speak. The delegates, however, were indignant, and for this reason he put the issue to the vote: Do they want a short break? They did. They waited for Pozsgay.

The new party is the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party... [corrects himself] the Hungarian Socialist Party. Its center is not being sought, first and foremost, in its own ranks. This is where one seeks its equilibrium. As for its center, it seeks to find that in the ranks of the people, said Imre Pozsgay, stressing that the change of name is not an nonessential element. This must also express the thought that reflects the determination. One must also clarify how far the party's framework extends and where another party begins.

The new party must respect the freedom of platforms and it must defend more than anything else the minority view, or rather, the holders of the minority view. But let no allusion to unity forces into the party's ranks those who belong to another party, because they cannot identify with the basic principles and values of this one. The solution, however is not some kind of exclusion or expulsion. All that need be done is to offer the possibility for elections, and in this way it will also become possible for the left-wing thought to be present among the collective influence of several left-wing parties, said Imre Pozsgay.

Afterwards, there were questions. Now the answers are being heard. After Karoly Grosz—at this moment—Jeno Kovacs is on the podium.

Further on Pozsgay Speech

LD0610213789 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—Presidium member Imre Pozsgay was one of those who made a contribution to the item entitled Political Evaluation of the Lessons of Our Historical Road and the Party's Manifesto'.

Mr Pozsgay emphasized that the endeavour to declare historical justice paves the way for the party to get on the same wavelength as the public thinking of the people.

Mr Pozsgay went on to say that the draft reflects the important endeavour that, acquiring self-knowledge and taking stock of the values of the past forty years, the party should draw certain historical conclusions that used to be taboo. Even if the errors and crimes of this period are exposed, Mr Pozsgay said, the questions still remain: Who was responsible, how was responsibility divided, and how can party members develop a new political outline?

If we analyse responsibility for the crises of the past 15 years, Mr Pozsgay continued, no blame should be laid at the door of party members. The causes should be looked for in the operational bases of the system, and personal responsibility in the oligarchies and organizations that identified themselves with the incorrect, mistaken policy, while seeking to operate the system in a way that no one should take responsibility for his decision.

The Central Committee wants the report on our historical past to be taken in parallel with the draft manifesto, said Imre Pozsgay.

The CC [Central Committee] had intended the document to throw light on the historical circumstances of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] before the delegates approve the manifesto. The study provides a political summary of the values of the past forty years, pointing out those which should be discarded by a new party aspiring to ask for the support of its membership and the confidence of the whole Hungarian nation after losing its prestige and the confidence of society.

On the draft manifesto, Mr Pozsgay had the following to say:

It was drawn up with one important task in mind: that is, to give an account to the membership and point out the values which can inspire a new party to come about, while doing away with the political practice of a party state and a state party, and adopting constitutional statehood. The emphasis, he pointed out, is on dissociation, as otherwise there is no chance of ever regaining the recognition of the people in the left wing of Europe, and, in Hungary, within the structure of leftist socialist thinking.

'We have to do away with the monster and conglomerate which used to function not as a party but, in fact, as a power in this country, and which, in its previous form, would most likely be rejected by the people in future. This fundamental idea and concept should serve as the basis for coming up with a new party manifesto'.

The history of the HSWP and, with it, that of the party state, has now come to an end. From now on, it is up to party members to create a new, socialist party.

Great attention should be paid to the ideas that set the manifesto the HSWP has on offer apart from those of other parties. The party shortly to be founded will have an edge over all political offers in this country, Mr Pozsgay said. It should make good use of this fact, and take part in the political battles of the forthcoming period with the chance of coming out on top and establishing a governing party.

From this point of view, we should weigh up how far the freedom of trends and platforms extends in the new party, and where the borderline comes when we should start speaking about another party. If we don't clarify this point now, this congress of ours will go down in history as a congress of blurring, fudging and hedging, a congress that has not settled anything for the country, but one which only further confused its own ranks, Mr Pozsgay said.

Our party will rspect the freedom of platforms and trends, and respect the protection of minority rights even more strongly than the former sanctity. Those who are unable to identify with us because of their views, ideas and political arguments should form another party. This is not a limitation of political freedom, but a new scope of movement established within the conditions of political freedom. That way, co-effects of various meaningful left-wing movements may lead to the establishment of a common governing force and especially to a new party that will start its activity under the name Hungarian Socialist Party after this congress.

Congress Delegates Join Platforms

LD0610180789 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The president of the mandate committee reported that, alongside the groups of delegates from various territories of the country, several groups have been set up according to platforms: 68 delegates joined the People's Democratic Platform, 30 the Cooperation for the renewal of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Platform, 35 the 'For the HSWP' Platform, 464 the Reform Federation, 43 the Platform 'For the Equality of Chances of the Provinces', and 26 to the Young People's Platform. The agricultural and food economy platform is also being organized, and 28 delegates have indicated their wish to join. The delegates decided that delegate groups of at least 12 members can be set up also during the congress.

With respect to the congress agenda, delegates decided that members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee, who were not elected delegates, can participate in the debate of the congress with conference rights, but only full-right delegates can attend the sessions which the congress declares closed.

It was agreed that contributions should be no longer than 5 minutes.

Further on Nyers Speech

LD0610192289 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 6 Oct 89

["HSWP Congress—Rezso Nyers' Speech"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—A broad spectrum of Hungarian people approve and accept the development of a market economy and property reform if the working masses also share in the increasing market profits. They want the extension of, and constitutional guarantees for, civil rights, a democracy based on elections, and extensive self-government. They reflect the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] to provide an open and objective evaluation of the past, and desire a national economy incorporated into the world economy, an independent foreign policy, and good relations and intensive cooperation with both parts of Europe and the neutral countries, said Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, speaking at the HSWP congress on Friday.

As long as military-political blocs exist in the world, common sense dictates that we should not question the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA, but that we should strive for their internal reform, Mr Nyers stressed.

The HSWP president said that Stalinism should be rejected in full: It is not an alternative to socialism, but an erroneous road, the application of methods that are alien to socialism. This is how the Hungarian popular uprising of 1956 against domestic Stalinism wins justification. The popular uprising opened the road to setting up the HSWP, and characteristic political realism.

The HSWP endeavoured to break with the dictatorial practice of the Stalinist model which was directed against the people, and to seek a new road in the economic system. It left the political structure unchanged, however.

The party committed an error in 1972-74 by stopping the reforms, and again in 1985-86 when it initiated economic growth without reforms. These two mismanaged decision were the direct cause of the large-scale foreign indebtedness of the country.

The party has learned from the events, and is itself striving to eliminate uncontrolled governing and the one-party system, which made these errors possible. The historical role of the HSWP also ends with the changing of times, was Mr Nyers' conclusion.

Mr Nyers went on to point out that a new party is now needed, one which is the successor to, but not merely the political continuation of, the HSWP.

It cannot be communist, and it cannot be simply a social democratic party. A synthesis that can be created from the new coming together of social democratic and communist traditions, values and practice—which split into two from the socialist movements—should be sought.

The new party should maintain a close alliance and friendly relations with the eastern and western reform communist parties, and this includes in particular the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Friendly and close bonds should be established with the Socialist International, and the socialist and social democratic parties.

The new party should appear at the elections as a people's party, one which mainly expressed employees' interests, and one which also relies on free-lancers, small producers and entrepreneurs. It should, however, distance itself from those who consider democracy a means of class policy, and those who have used the party to enforce their personal interests and uphold their power.

Further on Grosz Speech

LD0610194589 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], said the sufferings of the past year-and-a-half were a 'pain accompanying the birth of the new Hungarian model of Socialism'. Mr Grosz summarized the political conclusions of the resigning Central Committee in the following:

First, 'the party should not continue the Stalinist practice in which the nearest to us are our greatest enemies'.

Mr Grosz mentioned in second place that the HSWP should emerge from the elections as the strongest party, it should do everything in the interest of seeing that the party's candidate is elected president of the republic, and its candidates are elected MPs. He also stressed the importance of settling relations with the socialist countries.

He went on, 'the modernization of economic, political and cultural relations within the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA, and of those maintained with the neighbouring countries, is of strategic importance not only for us. This influences the fate of Hungarians living beyond our borders and the improvement of relations with our neighbours. It could also give a fillip to our efforts for European integration. We should also foster the relations we have created with the international left-wing.

'Even under a multi-party system, we take the stand that day-to-day political squabbling at home should not jeopardize our predictable foreign policy, which has won international acclaim and respect.'

Mr Grosz is of the view that an epoch-making transformation has begun in the past 16 months. During this time, the Central Committee initiated changes more revolutionary than in the whole of the past 15 years put together. These included the creation of the multi-party system, the establishment of the constitutional state, the elimination of the intertwining of the state and social organizations, the objective exploration of the history of the recent past, and the extension of openness.

It was, however, unable to settle the ranks of the party or to restore its unity of action, it neglected economic processes, and it did not accept a suitable part in mitigating the political tension that came about with the socialist countries.

The reason for this was that the Central Committee was not prepared for the tasks after the 1988 party conference, it was ill-suited in its organizational structure for the simultaneous handling of the economic and political crisis, and the top leaders were paralyzed by the lack of political unity and appropriate solidarity.

Mr Grosz said the lack of tolerance shown by certain people was the problem, rather than the existence of platforms. He condemned those leaders who, 'feel they have the authority to decide who is a reformer and who a fundamentalist'.

Differences in view divided those who encouraged reforms. On the one side stand those who, 'wish to bring the change in model into line with the renewal of the party movement, and who consider it a success if as many people as possible come with us.' On the other side are those who say the greatest distance should be covered on this road in the shortest possible time, as this is the most important guarantee against regression. 'They do not pay attention to whether the rapid pace means the most expedient utilization of the forces or not, and whether we pay an overly high price, or risk too much in this way for the necessary progress.' This dividedness should be eased with reciprocal patience, Mr Grosz said.

He went on to add that it seems those who declare themselves to be radical reformers have already decided they do not identify themselves with the others; They want to pigeon-hole those who believe the reform process should go ahead at a more modest pace with the representatives of the 'extreme left'. They thus unforgivably narrow the social base of reforms.

The party should operate as a left-wing socialist mass movement, an alliance of currents where the central platform and the manifesto approved at the congress is compulsory for all party members. Reform policy within the party will be strengthened not by casting out those who think differently, but by bringing the positions closer together and by seeking compromises. However, those who fundamentally disagree with the political guidelines approved at the congress should not be allowed to organize themselves into independent political forces within the party, the general secretary of the HSWP stressed.

More on Congress Events

LD0610191189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Reportage from correspondents Kerekes and Bocskai identified as "(Correspondent)"]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We begin our detailed reports with the day's events at the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress. From the Budapest Congress Center our staff members Andras Kerekes and Zslot Bocskai report.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] It was only after the first break that the party chairman's political opening speech was delivered.

Rezso Nyers stated that simultaneously with the dismantling of the system of state socialism, the party leaders must take a stand for this new type of party to build, to be able to build, the system of democratic socialism.

As a matter of fact, in society there are adherents of democracy without socialism, and for them the possibilities of constitutional operation are likewise given.

The battle, therefore, is unavoidable and open.

This party must appear as a people's party, said the party chairman. The party, as a movement, however, must function decisively as the voice of employees' interests, he added. The majority of people expect the unambiguous declaration and guarantee of constitutional rights. The provinces demand wide- scale self-government.

In a word, they expect personal and economic freedom of such an extent which will create a real possisbility for the revival not only of the party but also of the country.

Rezso Nyers also spoke about the question of which tendencies are those from which those who identify with the principle of democratic socialism must disassociate themselves. These, he said, are those who imagine the party as a formation bleached even of democratic socialism, or those who have used their positions for the assertion of their personal interests and who consider democracy as a tool of class politics and not as a mode of social coexistence.

General Secretary Karoly Grosz has professed support for renewing the party and for a novel type of unity in this oral supplement to the Central Committee's [written] account. In his view the party must operate as such a left-wing socialist mass movement, an alliance of currents, in which the program adopted by the Congress is comulsory for every member. Karoly Grosz set the main aim as the implementation of democratic socialism. He also referred to the criticial situation of the party and the country.

Regarding debt, he emphasized that the responsibility for that lies on the shoulders of the narrow central leadership of the party but it is also a fact that the experts, both in the 1970s and in the 1980s, themselves urged the obtaining of loans.

The general secretary tried to sum up particularly the last 18 months' politics when he said that he and others believed that after last year's party conference an epoch-making change began in the country. Although with debates and hesitations, the country has started out towards a democratic constitutional statehood, while the party has made significant steps along the way which lead from a bureaucratic state-party to a real movement.

At the same time he mentioned that the difference of views have divided those urging reforms, and this applies to the highest party leadership, too. He listed the Central Committee's political initiatives of great magnitude but also mentioned that the body was unable to form an active unity of the party. The leadership was unable—at the beginning, then unwiling at a later stage to unite, and for all this the responsibility lies first of all with the general secretary, Karoly Grosz said.

He then criticised the labelling, and the lack of tolerance and, as he said, it would be an historical mistake to accept that the party's moderate and radical reform forces cannot be reconciled with each other. At the end of his speech Karoly Grosz called attention to the fact that the left-wing socialist movement—for which he hopes—will have to come out as the strongest party in the election struggles, and it must do everything it possibly can in order to have its candidate elected as president of the Republic and its [National Assembly] candidates as deputies.

After the lunch break it would have been the turn of Imre Pozsgay. However, the acting chairman, Csaba Hamori, called Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs onto the podium, because Imre Pozsgay was laying a wreath at a ceremony commemorating the Arad Martyrs and he had not yet returned to the building.

Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs, who had directed the preparations, encouraged the delegates to adopt a new statute that would promote the creation of a modern European Party. As he said, every single member of the MSZMP must be called on to determine his relationship to the new program to the statute, and to the new leadership.

He went on to say that there is no doubt that there are those who cannot, and do not want to, accept the party's new concept. There are a good number of those who do not want to belong to any kind of political organization. If possible we should take our leave peaceably of those who are departing, said Jeno Kovacs. Let us respect their conviction and let us proclaim that in the future we will also be ready to cooperate with them.

At the same time the party calls into its ranks all those who are in sympathy with its policy, without regard to differences in world outlook. Among themm are those who have been kept away from the party by the rejection and justified criticsm of the MSZMP's former practice, stressed Jeno Kovacs.

Since Imre Pozsgay still had not returned [from the wreathlaying ceremony], Csaba Hamori at first wanted to hand the floor over to representatives of the first platform. However, there was an outcry from the delegates, who called a brief recess; only afterwards did the member of the party presidium step to the microphone in order to deliver his supplement to the political assessment of our historical path and to the draft party program declaration.

Imre Pozsgay expressed his conviction that the new party, which, according to his supposition, which begin its activity after the Congress as the Hungarian Socialist Party, could come into existence out of the joint impact of several substantial left-wing movement. It seeks its center, not primarily amongst its own ranks. There, it endeavors to find its equilbrium, so that it should be able to strive towards the center of the people, and, having placed itself in the focus of the people, it should function for the country.

The Party presidium member pointed out that, when analyzing the responsibility for the crises of the past 1 and ½ to 2 decades, the party membership canot be condemned, but the party membership does not want to place this burden on scapegoats. This burden must be sought primarily in the operational bases of the system, and in the matter of personal responsibility, [the burden must be sought] in the oligarchies and grouping which were able to identify themselves with the mistaken, bad policy. They served this bad policy, and they accepted the responsibility this entailed, as well, while they endeavored to sort out the functioning of the system in a manner so that no one should be responsible for the decision. They always spoke in terms of responsibility for implementation.

In spite of all the values that can be shown, the history of the MSZMP is the history of the structure of party-state, state-party. However, the history of its membership cannot be closed here, because this membership bore the reform-idea, the many kinds of values, the will embodied in the people, without which Hungary's political equilibrium cannot be restored, and its political future canot be pursued free of catastrophe. When creating the new party, the taking into account of previous values cannot be dispensed with, but the emphasis is on delimitation, said Imre Pozsgay. Otherwise there is no chance for the people to recognize the party again in the European left-wing and here, in the homeland, in the organization of left-wing socialist and here, in the homeland, in the organization of left-wing socialist thinking.

Imre Pozsgay separately said that it is necessary to state what the bounds are beyond which it becomes another party which is being discussed. It is necessary to respect the freedom of platforms, currents, and the safeguarding of the rights of the minority, but in a pluralist political system there cannot be constraints that might compel those who are unable to stay together, regarding their views, their thoughts, and their system of political reasoning, to remain together. This is another party, and it must be understood, emphasized Imre Pozsgay.

After his [Pozsgay's speech], there were questions. Does Karoly Grosz feel personal responsibility for the party having fallen into disarray? This question was uttered at the phase of the debate in which the delegates, after having heard the reports, put questions to the speakers.

Karoly Grosz replied to the above question by saying that in the past 18 months he had several times proposed that they choose new leaders. The members of the Central Committee always rejected this. At the same time, after a few days, they again wanted to make the general secretary resign.

According to Karoly Grosz, it is characteristic of party life that the membership does not state its opinion openly about the leaders, but gathers into groups and in this way tries to have their standpoint gain assertion.

Finally, he again emphasized: a renewed party is needed. In his opinion, his stance corresponds broadly speaking with Rezso Nyers' opinion, however it stands contrary to that which Imre Pozsgay says.

If there is a new party, from whence will there come money for its operation? This was a question to Imre Pozsgay, who said that in certain areas, the new party will be the legal successor of the MSZMP, and this can ensure the operational conditions. But, he added at once, the new organization cannot carry upon itself the burdens of the old one; for example it cannot use the much-debated property accumulating tools of the MSZMP.

What will become of the working class and the peasantry? Several people asked this. According to Imre Pozsgay, references to the working class hid the creation of dictatorial socialism. Although the word worker appears in the name of the party, all decisions were made without asking this class. The working class and the party are only tools in the liberation of the whole of Hungarian society, said Imre Pozsgay, who also quoted Marx. On the role of the peasantry, he only said that while the restructuring is underway in our homeland, in politics, and the economy a few unshakeable pillars are needed, such as the stability of agrarian production. This must not collapse, for at present this is the basis for our political life.

As we mentioned in the introduction, the delegates for the first time now have the chance to organize themselves into platform. At present there are seven of these. The groups generally have 30-60 members, the exception being the Reform Alliance which at the latest count had 464 members.

On behalf of the platforms, one delegate each was given 10 minutes to express their [platform's] view.

Attila Agh, representing the Reform Alliance, spoke first about the fact that a radical renewal is needed; a left-wing socialist party must be created from the main body of the MSZMP. A signifcant role is waiting for this party in the whole of the further process of democratic transition. The complete guarantee for renewal can only be the unity of renewal program, organization, and leadership. The party can only have a political future in Hungary as a radical reform party, emphasized Attila Agh.

The representative of the People's Democratic Platform, Tamas Krausz, also voted for radical reform. His opinion was that a left-wing socialist party is needed which is really that of the membership and not that of the elite factions. He criticized political improvisation, which he called politicizing from the pocket, which can be experienced as one of the signs of the crisis in the party. His opinion was that the split can be avoided if the membership is capable of supervising its apparatus. But if it were to happen, this would bring about the complete scattering of the left wing. The party falling into many directions would go hand in hand with the dangers of the combination of a capitalist restoration and a Stalinist rollback, said Tamas Krausz on behalf of the People's Democratic Platform.

Gabor Zentai, on behalf of the MSZMP Platform, primarily emphasized that none of the congress delegates had been empowered to dissolve the party. From this congress, therefore, a newly-born party must emerge. His platform—as its name also shows—does not wish to change the party's name. But, it is [his] opinion that there must not be a split for purely this reason. he said it was a citizen's right that party members have the right to organize in every community, therefore also in the workplace.

What is the reform, and what are those determining circumstances amidst which the reforms must be carried through, asked Laszlo Udvarhelyi in his speech. He is the representative of the Solidarity Platform. He said: Today, when Hungary is in an organic crisis, and the processes of right-wing bourgeois restoration represent a strong danger, the reform must be a program directed at radical restructuring. Inasmuch as these burning changes do not come about as soon as possible, the country and the party will become incapable of functioning, and at the same time a political vacuum will be created too, said Laszlo Udvarhelyi. He added: the congress must not formulate a program with which the party membership and the country's population do not agree, for then the MSZMP will remain alone.

The majority of Hungarian youth have written off the MSZMP, but this is not surprising said Imre Nagy, representative of the Youth Platform. The reason for the disillusionment is that the party has deceived young people twice: Once by concealing the past, and secondly by time and again sacrificing the future on the altar of the present. Young people expect answers: teenagers, for example, to the question of where they will work tomorrow; those starting their careers, to how they will pay for flats; young women to what kind of future their children will be born into. Imre Nagy drew attention to the fact that the future of the new party following the MSZMP will only be decided in the short term at the next elections. Its capacity for survival will be determined in the longer term by how it can make itself accepted by the new generations. Finally he emphasized: young people of course are not the exclusive carriers of development, but without youth there is no progression, nor will there be.

Regional Groups Address Congress

LD0610204589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1810 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Report from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MSZMP, Congress by correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs]

[Text] At the moment there is a break in the congress and as we reported in our last despatch representatives of regional delegate groups have been expressing their obviously coordinated stances. A few ideas from the speeches without being ambitious about them.

Baranya: In its present composition the MSZMP's chance of gaining votes is much smaller than if the individual currents were to field candidates separately.

Bacs-Kiskun: The activity of the MSZMP must be viewed as terminated. A new socialist party is needed.

Bekes: A socialist, social democratic type party is needed and it is the major responsibility of the congress that if it proves impossible to create a modern party it can condemn to failure the representatives of left-wing ideas in Hungary for a long time to come.

Bosod-Abauj-Zemplen: The reformers of the provinces and those of the capital can find each other at this congress.

Budapest: The party must be freed from those pseudoreformers who have had a good living by serving to the hilt the earlier system of power and who now, again cheating the honest party members, present themselves as reformers.

Csongrad: What is needed is not a Bolshevik-type process of squeezing out one platform by another but real unity. Those who consider the several hundreds of thousands of party members as uniformly responsible are also making a mistake and it is intolerable that a good number of members of the previous party oligarchy describe themselves as a reform center. I will note here that it was this contribution which received heaviest applause.

Fejer County: Young people need to have real scope for action and they should not feel that they are superfluous. We have had enough promises and resolutions about youth.

Gyor-Sopron: Party construction from below is required and demarcation lines must be drawn. There is no party in the world in which the same membership card is held by Miklos Nemeth and Robert Ribanszki.

The congress will continue its work after the break.

Press Briefing Held

LD0610224189 Budapest MTI in English 2132 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The first day of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress has witnessed the shaping of the contours of a new party, Congress spoksman Janos Barabas, CC [Central Committee] secretary, and Laszlo Major, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] spokesman, told newsmen at a press briefing on Friday evening [6 October].

This, new, left-wing, socialist party will operate as an alliance of platforms. The plan at the moment is for it to be similar to the Italian Communist Party, or the Finnish or Swedish Social Democratic Parties. This new party will have to fight for democracy, a market economy with mixed ownership, and a parliamentary multi-party system, Mr Barabas said in reply to journalists' questions.

It had been a matter of debate whether the Congress should declare the renewal of the HSWP or the foundation of a completely new party. President Rezso Nyers and Presidium member Imre Pozsgay advocated a radical change: the immediate foundation of a new party. General Secretary Karoly Grosz argued in favour of the process of renewal. The majority of contributors took a stand for radical change, and the establishment of a left-wing, Socialist Party governed by European norms.

Questioners at the briefing were told that some delegates had already taken a stand for re-electing Rezso Nyers as president. Mr Barabas added that, as a delegate from Budapest, he was one of those who had put his signature to the list supporting Rezso Nyers' Presidency.

Newsmen were also informed that the mandate of the HSWP CC would expire when the Congress passed its resolution. This implies that the current party functionaries will, as it were, be out of a job. The organizational set-up of the new party will be quite different, part-time politicians who have a 'civilian' job are likely to form the majority in the party leadership.

County, Armed Forces Delegates Speak

LD0610225489 Budapest MTI in English 2202 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—After the various platforms had set out their views, it was the turn of representatives of the county and county-ranking groups of delegates to take the floor in the debate about the party's goals, character and fundamental principles.

Quite a number of contributors spoke about the causes that brought about the current crisis. Characteristic of the views was that one that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] leadership had failed to make adequate use of the chance granted it at the party conference in May, 1988. "The party leadership was marked by a lack of conceptions, manoeuvring and sometimes immeasurable arrogance, and this threw party members into complete uncertainty." This is why a new socialist party should be founded that breaks with the HSWP's former activity and draws a veil over it. Although this radical break does not mean destroying the party, freedom of action should be given back to the members, Imre Keseru, a Csongrad County delegate, said.

Others argued that a renewal rather than a split was what was required. True, some of those opposing a party split also emphasized that the HSWP had become a political free-for-all, and had taken on board even people with diametrically-opposed views.

Young people have an indispensable role to play in renewing the party movement, and so the party should do everything to regain their confidence.

Delegates from the armed forces also took sides with reform in the course of the debate, and reported that party organizations had already started pulling out of the army and setting up their new branches in residential areas. They did not, however, agree with one rule included in the draft statutes which aims at restricting the electability of members of the armed forces.

The majority of the speakers agreed that the new left-wing party based on a socialist order of values should bid farewell to those who dare not face the past and face up to the new organizational principles, thus making the danger of regression a possibility.

Gyula Horn, delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed the same view in his contribution, when he said that the hundreds of thousands of party members were not responsible for the situation that has come about within the party and the country, as it was never they who had to make the decisions. Now, however, it is the Congress which has the right to make decisions, and the debate up to now has reflected this responsibility.

The nation and the party have so far lived in a system forced upon them. Now they can choose the system which they consider the most suitable. The debate should pass a decision on going for a new system which is genuinely in the interest of the people, one which ensures their power and serves the cause of left-wing progress.

Party members have so far been struggling within a party which was not constructed or created by them. Now there is an opportunity not only for getting rid of the ruins of the party, but also for establishing a new one.

The HSWP Congress is to resume the debate on the tabled documents on Saturday [7 October] morning.

6 Oct Session Ends

LD0610223289 Budapest MTI in English 2127 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The first day of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress drew to a close on Friday evening.

After a lengthy debate on the working order, speeches were delivered, and representatives of the various platforms proceeded to put delegates in the picture about their ideas concerning the future of the party.

In the first phase of the debate, representatives of the county and county-ranking groups of delegates set out their views on the party's goals, character and fundamental principles.

The Congress will resume on Saturday morning with a debate on this item.

End of Day Consultation Held

LD0710002189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] One more report from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress:

At the end of the working day the delegates evaluated the events. The Reform Alliance invited all those interested, including adherents of other platforms as well, to the Budapest Party Committee's Educational Directorate. The consultation, attended by about 400 people, concerned how realistic is the initiative for the formation of the Socialist Party, on the basis of the events of the 1st day of the Congress.

At the discussion several professional politicians were present, including Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth, Gyula Horn, Janos Barabas, Csaba Hamori, Pal Vastagh, Jeno Kovacs, and Imre Nagy.

Ferenc Gazso, chairing the discussion, said that no kind of decision will be made at the consultation in Villanyi road. They are merely summarizing the reform platform experiences on Friday.

Roundup of Day's Events

LD0710012689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Esteemed viewers, good evening. Democracy, constitutional state, socialism. Under this slogan the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress began its work at around half past 9 [0830 GMT] this morning, instead of half past 8. [passage omitted] The congress began its substantive work with the speech by [MSZMP chairman] Rezso Nyers.

[Begin Nyers recording] In our political thinking the starting point can only be: What do the Hungarian people want? What endeavors are summed up in the joint will being formed today?

The people want the politicians and the economic experts to lead the country out of economic uncertainty, toward security, from marking time toward the path of development. They want the quality of daily life to improve.

The country's people want the extension of citizens' rights, their unequivocal expression, and their constitutional guarantee. the people want democracy in Hungary, based on elections.

The people no longer accept that the elections should have no consequences for the trend of government: that there should operate a mechanism which obscures political responsibility.

But the people also reject that we should step back toward the sham-democratic form of parliamentarism which existed between the two World Wars, when narrow political groups used their mandates for self-seeking bargaining above the heads of the people.

The majority of people demand of our party, and likewise of other leading factors of political life, an open and objective evaluation of the past, free of prejudice. The majority of Magyardom desires a national economy organically incorporated in world economy, an independent foreign policy. They want to be on good terms alike with the two parts of Europe and the neutral countries; they want the pursuit of intensive cooperation. The majority does not want to get into a dependent, defenseless [kiszolgaltatott] situation either with Eastern or Western Europe.

On the other hand, the majority wish to cooperate voluntarily closely with both spheres, in the awareness of its national interest.

As long as there exist military political blocs in the world, the sober Hungarian mind dictates to us that we should not question our relations in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. On the other hand, it dictates that we should strive for the internal reform of these integrations. [end recording]

[Announcer] After this Rezso Nyers noted, and I now quote him: In one thing it would be useless to allude to the people's will, or to seek it, because in that [one thing] the will is not, and perhaps never will be, common: In the issues of world outlook, ideology. Socialist policy in Hungary can only correctly be based on this. Afterwards Rezso Nyers continued his speech as follows:

[Begin Nyers recording] What kind of party should ours be in the future? What should we alter in the character of our movement? What should we leave behind from our hitherto political baggage, and what should we add to it afresh?

Our penetrating debates have led to universal agreement in that Stalinism is to be rejected in its full entirety, because really it is not one of the alternatives of socialism, but the use of methods alien to socialism is a false track. It is on this basis that justification is won by the 1956 people's uprising—against domestic Stalinism—which opened the way for the MSZMP's coming into being, for a particular reform policy, [Nyers corrects himself] real-politik.

Research and debate on the MSZMP's practical policy and the Kadar era must still be continued. At the same time we must speak about political mistakes of large stature, which led to the party's crisis. The political mistake the party committed in 1972-74 with halting reforms is barely disputed, for example. Then in 1985-86, without further radical reforms, it initiated economic growth. These two wrong decisions were the direct cause of Hungary's extensive foreign indebtedness as well.

The people justifiably call the MSZMP to account for responsibility in this. Our reply cannot be self-excusing. We must accept criticism. We have learned from events. We are ourselves are also helping to put an end to government without control, to the one-party system, which made the mistakes possible.

From all this derives the conclusion: With the changing of the times the MSZMP's historical role is also reaching its end. Now the Hungarian socialist movement needs a new type of party which will be the successor, but not simply the political continuation, of the MSZMP. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tense anticipation preceded the speech by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. He announced: During the night he reworked his verbal supplement to the Central Committee's Congress report; for this reason the Central Committee was naturally not able to approve it. He added, however, that the Congress report was naturally adopted by the Central Committee, even if not unanimously.

[Announcer] Now we broadcast a few parts from the speech by the general secretary.

[Begin Grosz recording] Unity or break, renewing party or new party? Many see this as the today's question. This is [the question] but in my view we are talking about much more. The main aim is democratic socialism, which according to my faith is the most passable road to the rise of the nation [applause] for this even the party itself is but a means. The MSZMP is the most significant political organized force in our homeland today. Its organization, preparedness, its domestic and international contacts make it capable to ensure the execution of the transition in a civilized manner, without it, this is not possible.

Therefore, for this reason, we must discuss the timely tasks of the transition.

The arguments relating to the model-changing are a natural concomitant of pathseeking. These are often very sharp, not infrequently personal, and in places they assume a factionist character. The problem is not caused—as also had been formulated by the brief circulated by the Central Committee—by the fact that debates exist within the party, that platforms and currents come about but rather by the fact that some people cannot display tolerance. They endeavor to exclude others on the basis of, for example, generations.

Nor is the fact a necessary concomitant of renewal that labelling has become domiciled in the party. If this extends only to the leaders, then it is not so bad, because even those standing outside have always formulated their one-word, one-sentence commentaries about them. It is a much greater problem when it is the leaders themselves who qualify the membership—when it is they who feel themselves entitled to determine who is a fundamentalist, who is a reformist, who can remain within the party and who must leave. What is more, even those exist who precisely determine even the number of members who should leave the party in their view. [prolonged applause]

The differences of views have divided those urging reforms. On the one side stand those who want to harmonize the model-changing with the renewal of the party movement and who consider a success if as many as possible can come with us. On the other side stand those who believe that [we must] get as far on this road and as soon as possible because in their view this is the principal insurance against a reversal, ignoring the fact of whether the fast pace represents the best utilization of forces and whether, through this way, we may not pay too high a price, whether we risk too much.

It is this dividedness which should be resolved through mutual patience. Of course, it would be naive to imagine that it is possible to make the extremists of the party reconcile themselves with each other. However, it would be an historic mistake if we were to accept that the moderate and radical reform forces of the party are irreconcilable to each other. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now I will quote a few sentences from Grosz, those I feel to be of key importance, singling them out of the more expansive text: We already know today that, for after all we can know it better with hindsight, at the beginning of the 1970's the Hungarian leadership gave faulty answers to the world economy's challenges.

[Announcer] Here is another quote: The 13th Congress formulated unfulfillable aims, aims that were impossible to fulfill simultaneously; further years were wasted.

He also said the responsibility for this lies not with the membership but with the political leadership.

Speaking of the work since the party conference a year and a half ago he noted that this Central Committee initiated more new epochmaking changes than occurred altogether in the past decade and a half. Then he continued, and I quote again: Naturally, we cannot deny either that in the course of its work the Central Committee failed to deliver many things. He ended his line of thought by saying that the responsibility for this lies primarily with the general secretary.

After this, he spoke about the character and unity of the party.

[Begin Grosz recording] In our reborn party, our social commitment, the primary political representation of employees, cannot be weakened. Our party has not been a purely worker party for a long time but our party cannot reject the workers either openly or covertly, hiding in misty, misleadng formulations. [applause]

The essence of the turning point should not be that we make the worker character of the party more pale, but that we should formulate in a new, progressive manner the peculiar and mutual interests of the manual workers at the intelligentsia; inter alia, the fact that the development of culture understood in a Marxist multicolouredness is a vital issue for us because it is in this that we see one of the most principal possibilities for enhancing the homeland and our peoples living capability.

We should debate and decide whether a new type of party unity can be formed and how it can be formed. Do we want a renewal or a new party? I put my vote in support of renewing the party and a new type of unity. However, we must not want to make our party once again a monolith, hewn out of one block. We should order it into a united framework the forward-looking and lively initiatives appearing in the party movement in the most recent times.

Very correctly we do not tie party membership to world outlook: Religious people too can join, provided that they identify themselves with our political objectives. At the same time I dare to hope that this patience may be enjoyed by the atheists as well. Nobody needs to give up his communist conviction to become a member of the renewed party with full rights and full value. [applause] For the fact whether our renewing party declares itself to be a communist one or a socialist one is in itself not a guarantee for its having in the future a strong social influence and, most of all, whether it will be of benefit to the country, the people, the Magyardom.

Last but not least, the responsibility also falls on the Congress to elect a united leadership that is also able to promote the renewal of the party movement, be this unity the unity of variety, wealth should appear in the spiritual quality of the leadership, in the work style of the latter, as well as in its consistency and solidarity toward each other.

I take the opportunity to say thanks for the support of all those who honor me with thousands of expressions of trust, expressions I have received in the course of my work from my comrades, members of our party in my capacity as general secretary. Thank you for your attention. [prolonged applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] After Karoly Grosz, MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs was given leave to speak. From his speech we quote his thoughts about the party to be shaped, the cadre policy of past times, and about the membership's responsibility.

[Begin Kovacs recording] We must, therefore, reorganize the party into a party that breaks with its outworn habits, with its organizational system that trammels action. We must call into being a party which is able to stand its ground on the political battlefield of a democratic constitutional state with a multi-party system, which gives new life to the strength and prestige of the socialist movement.

But how can the socialist movement, which has once broken into a social-democratic and a communist branch, revive as an organization? First and foremost by putting a stop, not only in its intentions but also with its organizational system, to the concentration of power no matter what body or official. The first and elemental condition of this is the retransfer of every will and right to the party members.

Free conscience within the party, free expression of opinion, community-creation and cooperation, freedom to join and to leave, within a voluntary political alliance, are original rights which cannot be disputed. The world is upside-down if the thought has to cross the minds of many people that the membership should occupy the party. Let us set this queer world back on its feet. Let us set about creating a party which cannot interpret itself in any other way than as the community of its members.

Among the causes of the bankruptcy of the MSZMP'S operation, of the party-state, important factors were the cadre policy deriving from the logic of things, as well as the method of personnel work. Confused, oligarchic subordinations that have happened more than once, have determined the foreground in which personnel movements took place. For this reason there is decisive significance in inserting in our party's constitution, in the statute, the demand that only the electors are entitled to create every office, membership of a corporate body, to decide on how they should be filled, or to recall people from them. No corporate body whatever may replenish itself by co-opting.

There is also a need for this because in the socialist movement which asserts a right to general esteem we do not need rackets, land and house deal scandals, and we do not need confusion, either. We do not need narrow-mindedness, semi-education, inflated, haughty acts of tyranny, the at-no-time-benevolent petty-monarch behavior. We do not need words—which, of course, are unfortunately not just words but which cannot even be translated in the majority of European languages—such as leader-selection, reserve-sphere, cadre-selection, and cadre-management. Only one thing is needed: elections, with democratic rules and decent conditions.

Every single member of the MSZMP must be called on to determine his relationship to the new program, to the statute, to the new leadership that is to be elected. To put it more simply, let him say whether he wishes to be a member of the party which is delineated as a result of the Congress. Among our partners no doubt there are those, also today, who cannot, do not want, to accept the party's new concept, or have an alliance with it.

Numerous also are those who, if they follow their heart, do not now want to belong to any kind of political organization. Let us, if possible, part in peace from them, from the departing ones, the doubters. Let us respect their conviction and let us also proclaim that also in the future we are ready to cooperate with them in every joint endeavor.

We know that these are painful steps. Even so, we have to take them, because already today, and even more so tomorrow, the only political force to have a chance is one that enters the stage as an alliance agreeing on the main issues; only this can influence people.

At the same time let the party call into its ranks all those who sympathize with our policy regardless of differences of world outlook, and who accept our aims, those too who have been kept away from the MSZMP precisely by the rejection and justified criticism of our past practice. [end recording]

[Announcer] Afterward there was a break, because not a single delegate was willing to speak until Imre Pozsgay, whose turn it was, had delivered his speech. Imre Pozsgay, however, was taking part in a 6 October commemoration [of the Arad martyrs]. He was laying a wreath. For this reason they had to wait for him.

[Announcer] After a brief introduction of principle, the party's Presidium member began to analyze the program-statement.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] To break with the colossus and conglomerate which, in reality, functioned in this country not as a party, but as a public power, and thus, to be sure the people would not recognize it in this form in the future—this is the basic idea and the basic concept, in whose spirit a new program must be prepared.

In spite of every value that can be shown, the MSZMP's history is the history of the structure of party-state, state-party. However, the history of its membership cannot be closed here, because owing also to the mentioned historical reasons, this party bore the reform idea. As a party that gathered things it bore the many kinds of values, the will embodied in people, without which Hungary's political equlibrium cannot be restored, without which its political future cannot be pursued free of catastrophe. For this reason I reiterate: The party's history, the MSZMP's history, together with the party-state's history, has come to an end at this phase, and as from now, this membership is the subject [alanya] and repository of the creation of a new socialist party, which primarily builds its organization on the European left-wing's value-order, and following from this, democratic socialism's requirements. Politically, it intends an incessant presence in social stirrings, so that by leaving behind its role as a public power, it should be able to compete for the role of a governing party, in free elections, amid the circumstances of a pluralistic political system. [applause]

In this new party, how far does the freedom of the currents and platforms extend, and which are the bounds beyond which it is some kind of other party? As long as we have not clarified this, and if we do not clarify this at this Congress, we will enter history as the congress of obscuring things, laying down smokescreens, which did not solve anything for the country, and further dishevelled our ranks, made them further confused. [applause]

That is, like every party which has been reared on European political culture, our party will also respect the freedom of platforms and currents and it will respect more sacredly than the sacraments, the safeguarding of the rights of the minority. However, in a pluralistic political system—and this is why it precisely is the decent means of approach—there cannot be constraints which might compel to be among us those who, regarding their views, their thoughts and their political systems of reasoning, cannot be together. That is another party. That must be understood. [applause]

I believe that if we take this logic as our approach, and not anathema, the logic of ostracization and excommunication; if we offer the possibility of choice, vis-a-vis one another's matters, then out of the joint impact of several substantial left-wing movements, a common government force or will could come into existence. The new party—which in my supposition will begin its activity after the congress as the Hungarian Socialist Party—will seek its center not primarily in its own ranks, but there, it will try to find its equilibrium, to be able to strive toward the people's center. Having placed itself in the focus of the people, it will operate as party set up for the country, and not for itself. Thank you. [prolonged applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] The Congress delegates had the opportunity after this to put questions in connection with what had been voiced so far. They asked Karoly Grosz whether as a former prime minister and party general secretary he felt a personal responsibility in the affairs of the party and the country getting this far. He was asked how he assessed his government program, presented during his prime ministership, and what kind of heritage he had left to his successor.

[Begin Grosz recording] I know several people have come to this Congress with the idea that regardless what the general secretary says their views were formulated in advance independent of this. By the way, I was informed of this yesterday night. Therefore, I would like to tell you that, according to my conviction, belief, the assessment of these 16 months will be formulated by the open, honest, constructive debates of the coming weeks, years really.

As to my assessment of the government program I myself promulgated and I left for my successor, this question is naive. He who asks this is not aware of the nature of processes. I was prime minister for a very short time, luckily for me—and I think—to the benefit of the nation. Still, I must say that the fundamental tenets promulgated in my government program were not formulated on the day I entered the government, but already before that many people worked on them passionately and tenaciously and the party leadership recognized earlier—not in June 1987 but in November 1986—that the resolution of the 13th Congress must be changed.

In the preliminary preparation of the government program excellent associates of mine participated actively in everything. I can list them by name: the then Deputy prime Minister Jozef Marjai, the current chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, the minister of finance, the present deputy prime minister. I can also tell you that the present prime minister also helped me very much in the formulation of this program, Miklos Nemeth, who worked then as the secretary of the Central Committee. I am grateful to him for it.

What he inherited, he inherited not only from the Grosz government but also from that 15 years that preceded it. I have never envied his situation because since then the tensions have not decreased but have grown. I see my concept regarding the new party in the form of a renewed party. My opinion, in my judgment, does not differ from the opinion of Comrade Nyers, but there is a difference in terms of philosophy and attitude between my approach and that of Comrade Pozsgay. It is your duty and honor to choose which you support. [end recording]

[Announcer] The delegates asked Imre Pozsgay how the possible new party calculates with the workers and the peasants.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] I do not think the working class would have thought that the presence of its name in the name and symbols of a party means its real social presence. On the contrary, for after all we have spoken about the fact that even the membership of this party was unable to really feel to have been within its right to decide and to own [the party], whereas alluding to the working class and bearing its name often served to cover the fact that here a dictatorial socialism was created, a state socialist formation, precisely via the exclusion of the participation and contribution of the working class. [applause] Therefore, the intention which honestly endeavors, keeping in view the entirety of the nation, to give a political program, aims under no circumstances against the working class and the working society.

I think a future Hungarian society...[changes thought] which again tries to catch up with Europe and which wants to create a kind of modern industrial and post-industrial society must take into account that the current social class and stratum relations in this society exists to a large extent in their present form precisely because the production equipment and the ownership forms of these have conserved these relations. There is a need for greater dynanism here and in that case neither the worker nor the peasant will feel himself to be excluded and the peasant production will be increasingly replaced by an agro-industrial and industrial production form and production mode. In essence, until we promote the establishment of this replacement, we put our actions in place along the road leading out of the crisis. In the world of daily enforced crisis we should use management tools. Agrarian production, which is currently a political foundation and pillar of social stability and coordination both for peasants and workers, should not collapse. [prolonged applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] Now let is listen to some extracts from the representatives of the platforms.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified representative] The party at present has no unity which could be defended or restored. The historical alternative arises: Either the party perishes in the unprincipled feigned unity of significantly differing currents and bleeds to death at the elections, or it will be capable of creating a unity of action on the basis of a reform party. The new unity can in no way be a (?narrow) and immobile homegeneity, but can only be a federation capable of action, resting on the unity of principle of the platforms.

In the process of democratization, our party only has a political future in Hungary as a radical reform party. For the radical renewal of the party, for the creation of ultimately an organizationally new party too, the radical restructuring of the leaders and the decisionmaking bodies is also needed. In this question, in the casting off of personalities who have lost their creditability, political mummies, the divergence of paths very acutely appears.

To step beyond the gilded words, empty promises, in one word the world of reform rhetoric, personnel guarantees are also needed. We are threatened by the danger of not only breaking into several parts, but also of a too easily reached unity, inconclusive debates, which leads to the salvaging of lurking conservative leaders and their principles.

Radical renewal, like the formation of the new party can only have a complete guarantee in the unity of the renewal of the program, the organization, and the leadership.

[Second unidentified representative] The dismantling of the so-called state socialist structures has irrevocably been put on the agenda in Hungary, too. From the dismantling of these structures of Stalinist origin there are two, somewhat simplified, paths. One is the path of a bourgeois capitalist restoration, which some opposition organisations pin to their banners. The other is the path of the socializing [tarsadalmasitas] of power and state property, which can lead towards a human-centered communal society, democratic socialism.

This second path is the path of the socialist party. Our possible path of development cannot be followed on the basis of the model or pattern of either the East or the West. We must go back to the positive characteristics of the Hungarian people's democratic tradition. The significant characteristic of this development is that the multi-sectored mixed economy is maintained. According to our hopes, capitalism, profit-centered economic activity will expand again in it in a socially controlled and supervized form.

The danger that capitalism will eat us up is only a realistic danger if we do not place the unfolding reprivatization and privatization under the supervision of the workers' self-managements, which will be created. For, only the workers' collectives' councils, elected by secret vote, are capable of impeding the selling off of the national wealth, the rule of a new class, the manager bourgoisie, of economic and financial apparatuses. [applause]

[Third unidentified representative] We are not bigoted name worshippers. But all the same, I respectfully request one thing in this hall. Let us not have the naive belief that we will jump over a midsummer night's cleansing fire here as Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, land on the other side as Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Hungarian people will as one man elect us, and we will win at the elections. [prolonged applause]

For my part, I do not find the name worker beautiful, either. I accept the reasoning of Comrade Pozsgay; he is right. Under the name worker we carried out abuses and did not do what we should have done. But throwing out the name does not give greater guarantees for this, either. So, we should think it through. One thing is the essence, that our party should have a statute which should be the statute, program of a modern, European party, left- wing mass party. We should not split over the name, this is my only request, the majority should decide on this question. [applause]

All of us have come here calmly, responsibly, for this congress has been called historic. The city is full of people saying "we are splitting," "we are falling apart," "they are going in; they are going out on the given sign." I would ask that in the personnel question [words indistinct], I would ask: it is my conviction that this hall, the majority of my fellow delegates do not have the mandate to wind up the MSZMP, whatever name it were to operate under as a successor party, to break it up. So, the moment created by this hall cannot dissolve this party, and we must resist to the very end the dissolution of the party. A newly born party must emerge from here, a newly born party in which every member has to decide whether they undertake its program and statute. This is not to be joined, but whoever does not like this should leave us. [prolonged applause]

[Fourth unidentified representative] We must dissociate ourselves from the nostalgies of bureaucratic socialism. [passage omitted] At the same time we must dissociate ourselves from a kind of reform romanticism, reform-dogmatism or, if you like, from the sectarian discrediting of the reform idea. Both these systems of thoughts ultimately somehow are the two different sides of the same mental misdirection. [passage omitted] This kind of thinking reduces our social basis, it alienates the people from either sides. [passage omitted]

It is a cardinal issue and it has been raised in connection with a debate on points of order, camouflaged as "other debate," still I must declare that it was camouflaged because let us say after all what we are talking about. A kind of construction, which in practice means the suspension of party's operation, or using a different word to define, it means the replacement of the membership; the transfer of membership in the name of the new party and similar procedures which I have in mind in this regard. I would not support this idea and I think that it would mean in practice what Brecht wrote in connection with the 1953 events in Berlin that the "leadership thought that it would replace the people." The Congress has no mandate for this. The Congress has a mandate for a fundamentally organically renewed party only. [applause]

[Fifth unidentified representative] I also agree with those who say that a phase has ended in Hungarian history and the MSZMP history too has come to a close. [passage omitted, elaborating]

I should speak about the name of the party, too. I do not hold sympathy with the changing of the name. I do not because it means that we are giving new name to an old party. I want something else: to give a new name to a new party, naturally. [applause]

Many, with decent intention, are preparing for the defense of the MSZMP. Please believe me, the MSZMP must be defended not here and not against us. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] According to the set agenda, then followed the representatives of the county groups of delegates, in alphabetical sequence, according to the counties. Each contributor was given 5 minutes. We now carry the most important statements.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified representative] Let us think it over, that a membership is now shaping an opinion on the country's situation, on the Congress, the party and us, which until 1 year ago shaped their thoughts—we shaped their thoughts—by only telling them only a certain part of the facts, in schools and in propaganda. We only let them get a certain part of the truth. We said that only we, the party, the party leadership, is right. Now it is this party membership, which was trained with a limited amount of facts and in a one-sided manner, that now must take a stand in an incredibly complex set of issues.

The question, thus, arises whether the party membership which became like this, owing to our fault, is able to assess the complex situation. If our reply is that it is not able to do so in entirety, then the question follows whether we can allow ourselves not to make the changes that reality unavoidably put on the agenda, through alluding to this membership. [applause] My reply is that we cannot allow this. My conviction, and I agree with the proposals that said this, is that alongside this program and this basic statute, it is, indeed possible, for there to be a decent separation and formation of a new party—through a correct debate—which does not label things and is not personal, and this is how we would benefit more.

[Second unidentified representative] We entered a party with a great past, and we were linked to it on an emotional basis, in spite of every humiliation and slap in the face, within the party, as well. I am scarcely exaggerating if I say that hundreds of thousands feel thusly, and for this reason, it is difficult to discard this worn-out, threadbare coat, and to throw it into history's glory-hole, because we have grown accustomed it. However, it must be discarded. Why? Because left-wing ideas have a reality in Hungary only in the event they stand the test in elections. If there were a catastrophic defeat, there would be no future, possibly for decades. In that case all manipulations and intrigue would be in vain. It simply is impossible to win with this party, and with the past of this party. At the minimum, on three occasions we have been given the opportunity to prove ourselves, from society, the Hungarian people, most recently 1 and ½ years ago. If we look at the final result, we have lost our credibility the same number of times. Please think over what might have happened here if the party which the people raised on its shield 1 and ½ years ago is now fixed on the top of its spear? It is possible to win with a party of different substance, which basically breaks with its hitherto past.

[Third unidentified representative] The key question now is that our party should not fall apart into trends that are incapable of action and lack a mass basis. For this, we have to find a suitable, unified leadership, a program supported by the masses, a democratic operational statute and organisation. A key question, however, is that this organization should be capable of functioning, because this, properly speaking, does not exist now. In light of all this, my conviction is that after the Congress, our party must be organized anew, and it must be made capable of striking. In my opinion, a party split does not hold prospects, either for the leadership, or, mainly, for the masses of party members. [passage omitted]

However, there is something that disturbs me. What disturbs me is that I have seen that recently, pseudo-reformers have joined the enormous number of party members who really want a reform. They are pseudo-reformers who in the past years, decades, by means of fully serving the previous power system subsisted very well from this system, and who now feel [applause] that, through riding astride the reform wave, they will be able to ensure this in the future. What troubles me the most is they wish to achieve this at the expense of the decent party membership which, to date as well, has been deceived an enormous number times. [passage omitted] I think that what is needed here, now, is not, in a Bolshevik-type of [word indistinct], for one faction to conquer the other one, but for us finally to regain our freedom of action, and for us to create a party which is dictated by our hearts and our minds. [applause]

Therefore, what is at issue are two standpoints which basically and decisively differ. These standpoints have today appeared unequivocally and crystal clear. Let us hereafter act, each according to his own conviction. However, there are at present two political groups in this country who have an interest in obscuring the differences between these two currents. One consists of the people who universally wish to make these 700,000 people here responsible for the past, and who wish universally to trample these 700,000 people into the ground. They have an interest in not distinguishing the two currents from one another. [applause] The other is the party oligarchy which is able to do everything to maintain its privileged role; if necessary, it becomes the most committed follower of reform. Only if it is necessary to take the concrete steps, it acts as if its teeth were being pulled out. This party oligarchy which has had a predilection for calling itself a reform-center recently 1 and ½ years ago noticed that something was in the process of preparation, and it took the lid off of the pot, a bit, so that the steam should sweep the generation ahead of it from its place, and so that they should be able to sit at these places. However, as soon as they sat down there, they began to push this lid back.

If today it pains us and we feel the anti-communist chafing campaign often being organized against us is unjust, then we should look a bit into ourselves that perhaps we are somewhat responsible for this. On the other hand, the sentence and the behavior which lies behind it has encouraged those who had hoped for the violent return of the dictatorship of the proletariat here and these were rattling their sabres increasingly noisely and the party did not disassociate itself from these; e.g. it hurriedly called the reform circles a faction. [applause]

By now an alliance has developed between two extremes, whose essence is the discrediting of the remaining credible leaders of the party. In this the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth and the unity platform which handed the anti-Pozsgay pamphlet entitled, "We Introduce a Credible Man" to the Csongrad County group of delegates in the form of a unity package act together today. These discredit, in the name of unity, those people who still can today lead to success this new party perhaps. [prolonged applause]

These are really saying that now a unity must be concluded, but not with you. We, on the other hand, say that we want a divorce from you; I think that it is much more decent. Here in this hall sit Jozsef Annus, our fellow delegate whose journal, the TISZATAJ was banned in 1986 and he who banned it sits here, too. [applause] [passage omitted]

If these groups here and now conclude a compromise, then society will not accept us anymore as a credible force and then the left wing is finished for many decades in this country. [very long applause]

[Fourth unidentified representative] The question often occurs to me: Why does the party need its membership? The Fejer County Party Committee drew up a paper on party education. It says the task of party education for decades has been to proclaim the party's policy among the membership. Well, this is it, comrades. Who, in that case, made the policy, if it had to be proclaimed among us, in the sphere of our own membership? [laughter, applause]

If all we were good for was that like a sponge we should imbibe all those clever central intentions put before us at the membership meetings; if the member's presence was only needed so that he might pay his membership fee and that there should be a quorum, lest there be trouble!

What kind of change would we like? A change which can be summed up by the phrase that an abyss cannot be jumped over in two or three leaps. We need one determined, deliberate, big leap.

[Fifth unidentified representative] The party membership of the border guard considers it to be a guarantee of the indispensable condition of the crisis-handling socialist epochal change that among the progressive forces of the reform process the MSZMP, renewing itself, should play an initiating, constructive, and influential role. It is therefore a responsibility that concerns the nation's future, the fate of the party movement, alike, that the congress should create the principled and organizational bases of a modern, left-wing party unequivocally committed to reforms and that satisfies the new circumstances and requirements. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] The above sequence covered the events of the Congress 2-3 hours ago. Then, in the evening hours, there was a short break, and after that came those counties which begin with letters at the latter part of the alphabet, or rather, the representatives, delegates, of these.

[Begin recording] [Sixth unidentified representative] It seems to me that certain forces at all events want to arrive at a rift. It may be, of course, that the rift would clarify the lines of power; everyone would find his place in some party. I am afraid, however, that we could not even make a decent rift. After the rift we would deal not with how we can proceed side by side, but we would be preoccupied with each other; we would talk rubbish at one another, and in the meantime we would lose the elections. [passage omitted] The party rift can be avoided with an agreement. We have to declare that the party is the alliance of platforms which, and this must be clarified, agree in the cardinal issues, and if need be they will enter into action unity. It is not the same with dissolution. The fact that thousands leave the party weekly is a big problem, but I feel that this will increase after the congress. From my own part I would like to reassure Comrade Pozsgay and others as well that just because the reform forces do not win, they do not have to leave the party. For here those will win who are committed to reform [applause], those who are the adherents of change and alteration. These adherents do not constitute a monolithic unity, but they see clearly that power can not be exercised and the country cannot be governed in the old way.

[Seventh unidentified representative] Until now we have been struggling with the confused party; one could say the party that had virtually collapsed on top of us. With the party which we did not construct, we did not create. Now, on the other hand, we have the possibility not merely to rid ourselves of the ruins of this party, but to create a new party. For this reason it is of vital importance that this congress, here and now, should decide to create a new left-wing progressive party. [passage omitted]

[Eighth unidentified representative] I would now like to speak about what the people think, what people said at these election meetings: how, not the party members, but those outside the party, relate to the party. If my words offend anyone, let him not be cross with me. It is the truth that hurts: first of all, because people hold the MSZMP responsible for the oppressive crisis. For this reason they demand the party leadership account for the events of the last 15 years, in such a way that it says who is personally responsible, who bears the blame, for the 18 billion [currency not specified] debt, [applause] which makes hopeless the future of ordinary people. Of course, the roots of the crisis of confidence among the electors go much deeper than the events of the past year and a half, or 15 years. At nearly every meeting the question was put to me whether a party is creditworthy under whose leadership even in 1962 people were being executed because of 1956, and even in 1988 a spectacular conceptional procedure could be taken against Bihari and his associates because 2 years ago they thought like the entire reform wing thinks today [prolonged applause] People also asked me whether I consider as my comrades people like Robert Ribanszki, or those grouped in the Muennich Ferenc Society and the similar anachronistic groups. Because if yes, then I should go and join them, and they [the electors] will not even speak to me. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] Esteemed viewers, the first day's work of the MSZMP Congress finished a few minutes before 9 o'clock in the evening [2000 GMT]. Although, according to certain reports not every delegate has retired for the night; it is conceivable that certain platforms are holding sessions even now.

Tomorrow, naturally, we will again be giving a detailed account of the work of the Congress. In the evening you will certainly see a roundup. Depending on the events, perhaps we will go over live to the Congress during the day as well. Good-bye.

7 Oct Congress Proceedings, Speeches Begin

Party Split Discussed

LD0710102589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The best known Hungarian Socialist Workers Party leaders do not want a party split, but among the ordinary pro-reform delegates many have cautioned Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay agianst concluding a compromise with the conservatives.

On the first day of the Congress yesterday, which took place in a stormy atmosphere, the leaders, expressed their differing views, but all supported the unity of the party and all accepted that the party should become a so-called socialist party. The debate centered on whether a new party should come about or the old one should renew itself.

General Secretary Karoly Grosz said that if the faults and crimes of the past 40 years keep being mentioned the election chances of the party would be endangered. He argued in support of continuity. In reply to questions from the delegates he declared that he has disagreements of principle with Imre Pozsgay and that the Congress has to choose between the views of the two.

In his speech Karoly Grosz also said that in the interest of unity and good election result the ideological debate should not continue.

He only criticized one leader—and what's more, by name: Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth because the head of government wants to bring about a renewal in the leadership on the basis of a new generation and because he categorizes the moderate reformers—one of whom the general secretary considers himself to be—with the conservatives.

According to correspondents, the questions from the floor calling him to account hurt Karoly Grosz and on his way out of the hall he said that he would retire after the Congress. [passage omitted]

Nyers Asked To Head New Party

LD0710101989 Budapest MTI in English 0923 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—Friday night, after conclusion of work during the first day of the Party Congress, the Reform Alliance held coordination talks in HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers party/MSZMP] election centre in Budapest. Representatives of other platforms were also invited to clarify conditions for eventual cooperation between the various platforms. The meeting was attended and addressed by delegates from the People's Democratic Platform, the Young People's Platform and the Give the Provinces an Equal Chance Platform.

Concerning the outcome of the talks, Janos Barabas, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, told MTI's correspondent that, on assessing the first day of the Congress, Reform Alliance delegates explained their views as to when it is right to propose the formation of a new socialist party from the tactical point of view. The question is whether to extend the initiative expressing the majority opinion of contributors or to present it to the plenum. It was stated at the meeting that the new socialist party should be the legal successor to the HSWP.

Mr Barabas pointed out that, according to concepts, the membership and order of the new socialist party would be organized anew. He added that the first-day work of the Congress gave him the impression that most delgates support this idea. MTI has been informed that Rezso Nyers has been requested to act as president of the new party.

Congress Resumes

LD0710091989 Budapest MTI in English 0830 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—On Saturday morning the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers" Party continued in the Budapest Convention Centre. The presiding [as received] Gyula Horn announced that three platforms—the People's Democratic Platform, the Reform Alliance and the Young People's Platform—called for a 20-minute break. As delegates approved the request by unanimous vote, the president ordered a 20-minute break.

Several journalists reporting from the Congress site suggested that this Saturday morning incident might forecast the possibility that some of the delegates would declare the founding of a new party on Saturday. As it was also stated during the Friday night conference of the Reform Alliance, they wish to win the support of reform-minded delegates and the party members they represent.

New Party Formation Outlined

LD0710102689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has been meeting for the 2d day. Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz report from the Budapest Congress Center.

[Unidentified correspondent] Instead of a plenary session, the work today of the MSZMP Congress began with a 20-minute recess, during which the representatives of the platforms consulted.

The Reform Alliance made public the draft which lays down its theses on the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party. They declare that the history of the MSZMP is coming to an end; it is being formed anew, as a new left-wing party, which consists of an alliance of platforms. The Reform Alliance postponed the debate on this idea to later. A representative here said that in any event the Hungarian Socialist Party would like to obtain the handling rights to the MSZMP's property.

In the meantime, members of the People's Democratic Platform also formulated their ideas on the party's future. In basic issues, they placed themselves in opposition to the Reform Alliance. One of their main theses is that by no means do they want a party which the former members would have to join again. In other matters, they consider the name Socialist Party to be acceptable, but they do not insist on this. In the debate they separated themselves from the Reform Alliance's idea which is interpreted by the People's Democratic Platform as accepting a partnership with the MSZMP in solely property issues. By the way, they also called on Rezso Nyers who also dissociated himself from the mentioned interpretations.

After the recess at the plenary session, the representative of the People's Democratic Platform gave an account of his ideas to all the delegates. Janos Goenczi, accompanied by great applause, said that the lines of rupture must be clarified at the Congress; thus, whether the MSZMP successor party should be an alliance of platforms, and who should be the future leaders. He said that the People's Democratic Platform supports the nomination of Rezso Nyers as party chairman. He urged a dissociation from those who still think in terms of proletarian dictatorship.

At today's 2d workday of the MSZMP Congress, 1,274 delegates are present. In the meantime, the platforms have gained strength; the Reform Alliance has most—479 members. Already, 105 have joined the People's Democratic Platform. However, the other group of delegates do not even have 50 members.

According to conversations in the corridor, Miklos Nemeth has not committed himself in anyway; at the same time, Janos Berecz is reckoning on not getting a leading political role in a new party. Gyorgy Marosan stressed that no one should be cast out categorically.

In these minutes, representatives of the county groups of deputies are speaking at the MSZMP Congress.

Vitanyi on Possible Reform Split

LD0710121489 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—Congress has arrived at a turning point, with tangible agreement among delegates that a new party is required under the name of Hungarian Socialist Party, Ivan Vitanyi said during the morning debate on behalf of the Reform Alliance.

At the same time, Mr Vitanyi drew attention to the fact that the delegates have no experience in organizing themselves. In his view, a party split might also occur among the reform forces since their unity of principle is not complete either.

The Reform Alliance believes that the party's hitherto leaders, who are most committed to the reforms—Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth, Gyula Horn and others—could jointly symbolize the party line. Mr Vitanyi said they can have differences of views but should avoid squabble so as not to create a mood at the Congress which would hamper progress and concord.

Nyers on 'Suitable' Party Platform

LD0710120889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, by correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs in Budapest during the Party Congress, date not further specified—recorded]

[Text] [Martin-Kovacs] If anything seems certain at this Congress it is that the most differing platforms see you as the future chairman of the future party. How do you see this? We believe this was discussed too.

[Nyers] There were no discussions specifically about this question, for this cannot be the subject of agreements reached within the Congress. I was informed that there are people who consider it correct to elect me once again as chairman. If a suitable political platform is created, then I can undertake and will endeavor to serve this cause in the framework of a renewed leadership which will be decided by the Congress.

The Congress is permeated by a fear that other people think differently about this. This applies even to the strata urging reform. In my opinion, a political consensus is emerging at this Congress, at least among the decisive majority of the delegates. However, there is still a personal lack of clarity.

[Martin-Kovacs] You have enormous political experience. What do you think are the chances of this Congress maybe splitting? As you said this meeting is heading toward a political consensus, I suppose, toward forming a socialist party.

[Nyers] There is no kind of sign that this Congress will split along the axis of real political alternatives opposing each other. It will not split on the axis of political alternatives.

[Martin-Kovacs] So is it conceivable in your opinion that ultimately one result is created from the many lines of strength?

[Nyers] As I said, a political consensus is definitely emerging at this Congress, that is, it is moving in one direction, toward an appropriate political unity that truly detaches only those who do not agree with democratic socialism, that is, they should detach themselves. I would put all my money on this.

[Martin-Kovacs] [passage indistinct]

[Nyers] This is the prospect. But, of course, the ball is round and, in the words of a gambler, nothing can be ruled out.

Congress Debate on Successor

LD0710123989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Report by correspondents Petr Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party congress in Budapest]

[Text] The debate about the future of the ruling party has entered a crucial stage. At present the differences of views or, according to another formulation, the lines of break are being clarified in order that, as the preliminary proposal states, at about 1700 today the delegates should be able to adopt the program communique of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] or that of its successor party and to prepare their political evaluation on the lessons of the last 40 years.

For the 2d working day of the Congress it seems that two platforms have gained strength, one of them is the Reform Alliance with 479 members, the other is the People's Democratic Platform with a membership of 105. They seem to hold the same opinion to the effect that the successor party of the MSZMP does not need membership revision. They also considered it acceptable that the Hungarian Socialist Party should be founded, although the People's Democratic Platform does not consider the name change necessary by all means. The stances also seem to concur as regards the party operating as an alliance of platforms in the future.

Regarding the differences of views, the Reform Alliance would like the handling right of MSZMP properties to be given to the successor party. They also accept the view that the MSZMP should give an account of its assets to the National Assembly. The People's Democratic Platform also makes a claim for the former party's assets, whereas Unity Movement [Osszefogas Mozgalom] leader Janos Berecz in his emotional speech rejected the view that without a Congress decision anyone should expropriate these properties in advance. Janos Berecz, incidentally, was responding with this statement to Ivan Vitanyi, who said that the former infrastructure should be transferred to the new party but only to the extent necessary.

It is as if the issue of a party split had disappeared from the agenda of the morning debate. Ivan Vitanyi said that a bank had burst at the Congress because democracy which always characterized those below, that is, the party membership, has now flooded the entire debate. This means that the party membership is no longer the servile follower and servant of the leading body.

Miklos Nemeth also agreed with this statement when he said that those belonging to the government party are no longer prepared to follow the chief villains [fokolomposok]. By the way the premier denied that the government had moved away from its own party; in his view exactly the opposite had happened: it has come closer to it, to the party that is being formed at this Congress.

Miklos Nemeth himself urged the renewal of the party leadership and by so doing he joined most of the contributors. It is a general view that in the party that succeeds the MSZMP those who were the cause of previous mistakes cannot hold leading posts.

According to talks in the corridors Janos Berecz already reportedly expects that he will not receive a leading role in the new party, while Miklos Nemeth has reportedly far not yet committed himself to any direction although the Reform Alliance would like to see him among its supporters.

The head of government and member of the MSZMP Presidium has made it clear to the Plenum that he sympathizes with this platform becaise he said that the new socialist leftwing party must be formulated fundamentally in accordance with the ideas of the Reform Alliance. Rezso Nyers is wanted as chairman by almost everyone.

By the way, in talks outide the hall most people place their money on the likelihood of an agreement between the two strongest platforms, the Reform Alliance and the People's Democratic Platform, and that they will become a decisive force in this congress. By doing so they would remove the danger of a power vacuum through a split of the MSZMP.

Nemeth on Personnel Changes

LD0710124389 Budapest MTI in English 1117 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—"The party has to turn itself from a state party into a government party," Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Presidium, stated in his contribution to the congressional debate Saturday morning. He added that, contrary to views about the estrangement between the government and the party, the situation is rather that the government has been approaching the party, or more precisely the new party just being shaped at the Congress.

The prime minister was of the opinion that the party manifesto drawn up might be attractive to Hungarian progression, and the statute could also help the new party become more democratic than all the other parties.

Mr Nemeth termed personnel changes as essential for the party's renewal. He said the new party will not be creditworthy if its leaders and members include people whose hands are stained with blood, if indirectly, or who were party to destroying people.

Berecz Wants To Remain Communist

LD0710130289 Budapest MTI in English 1128 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—Janos Berecz was given the floor [at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress today] to speak briefly out of schedule on behalf of the Cooperating for the Renewal of the HSWP platform. He said he wants to remain a communist by all means and is, therefore, going to join a party which offers him an opportunity to do so.

Mr Berecz feels that Rezso Nyers, who appears to enjoy absolute support at the Congress, faces the no easy challenge to decide whether to take the reform communists to the new party or not.

Following, Mr Berecz warned that Ivan Vitanyi "took possession of the party property too early", because no decision has yet been reached by voting on the party's future. It is by no means certain that those who, when renewed, wish to retain the name Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will not consider themselves a legal successor as well.

Agh Outlines Reform Alliance Theses

LD0710142289 Budapest MTI in English 1230 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—As reported, on Saturday morning the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] continued in the Budapest convention centre. The presiding Gyula Horn announced that three platforms—the People's Democratic Platform, the Reform Alliance and the Young People's Platform—called for a 20-minute break. The request was approved by unanimous vote.

The Reform Alliance, which on the second day rallied about 600 delegates, used the break to put members in the picture about its draft theses concerning the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Accordingly, it would be a left-wing party with a radically new manifesto breaking with the HSWP's programme and organization, an alliance of platforms organized on the basis of common principles and action unity. The new party would be operating as the legal successor to the HSWP.

On outlining the theses, Attila Agh emphasized that the continuity would be legal and not political. Those who accept the theses are taking part in the formation of a new party carrying on the socialist and democratic traditions of the Hungarian leftist movement. It seeks alliance with other domestic left-wing parties and wants to establish relations, as a reliable partner, with all democratic parties in the interest of national renewal. The Hungarian socialist party strives for close contact with the reform-committed socialist parties in central and Eastern Europe, with the reform communist, socialist and social democratic parties, as well as with the left-wing parties and movements in Western Europe.

Mr Agh stressed that the formation of the new party necessarily implies a system of personal guarantees, that is the setting up of a "pluralistic but relatively united" presidium. He added that naturally they have no wish to decide on questions of personnel without consulting the other delegates.

According to another Reform Alliance member, the HSWP should declare its intention to be reorganized as Hungarian Socialist Party with the maintenance of legal continuity, and that the new party will have the same management rights as the HSWP was granted for its operation.

The brief meeting resulted in an agreement that the delegates would continue to discuss the theses during the day. Attila Agh announced that organizing work would begin as soon as Congress decides on founding the new party.

Vastagh Stresses Strong Party

LD0710142589 Budapest MTI in English 1236 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—The HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP] present programme is not only a party manifesto but also a programme of Hungary's rise, Pal Vastagh, member of the HSWP Political Executive Committee, told Congress in the morning.

The Csongrad County delegate stressed the importance of creating a strong mass party representing socialist values, and added that calm and well-considered decision-making at the Congress was required to this end. He mentioned democratic socialism, a radical break with the former system of institutions and utilization of experiences from people's democratic development after 1944-45 as future political principles of the new party.

Further on Nemeth, Vastagh Addresses

LD0710161189 Budapest MTI in English 1351 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—As reported, the Saturday morning debate of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress was addressed by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP presidium, and Pal Vastagh, member of the HSWP Political Executive Committee, delegate for Csongrad county.

Mr Nemeth said, "Most people who have assembled here serve the nation with honour. Let us take off at last the cloak of the Stalinist organization which is alien to us, which was unsuitable even when it was forced on us and which is fitting us less and less now and in the future. Let us have a party which is genuinely ours, and those who feel out of place here can form another party. What matters to us is not how many members we have but how many votes we get at the elections. Our new party should be capable of successful work inside the party and appear as a creditworthy partner in the international scene. We have to work to ensure progress and a victory at the free, democratic elections."

Pal Vastagh pointed out, "the present party programme is also a programme serving Hungary's social rise. The party is allied to the trade unions, the cooperative movement and the cooperative farms, and it has to gain the support of young people as well. The party requires versatile personalities and independent thinkers. Personal ambitions should be accompanied by the observance of democratic order of operation by all leaders. Political skill is extremely important, and the members of the apparatus have to acquire modern political technology."

Vastagh Interviewed on New Party

LD0710224689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now return to the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress. Henrik Havas talks to Chairman of the Mandate-Examining Committee Pal Vastagh [MSZMP Political Executive Committee member]

[Havas] Right up until now—we are now talking early afternoon on 7 October—you have been the only one who said that the Congress should promise its trust to the party's presidential candidate. How is this lack of sympathy possible, for I can use no other expression?

[Vastagh] The only explanation I can give is that this period of the party's self-reproach has still not ended, which unfortunately can also be one of the big sources of its failures. And if we are unable to get beyond this state, then we have very little chance of appearing, remaining, here in the Hungarian political public life, as an influential force, party, capable of coalition. [passage omitted]

It is evident that the party member should support the party's candidate. It figures in the organizational rules of the Austrian Social Democratic Party that the biggest sin, in quotation marks, which a party member can commit is to form, in the course of the election campaign, an alliance with another political force, to not support the party's own candidate. [passage omitted]

[Havas] Let us pursue the thought. Rezso Nyers, like you, too, enjoys the confidence of 98 percent of the delegates. Yes, but when, in the battle of the platforms, the strongest platform emerges with its own list, it is by no means certain that that list, that platform, will suit the president. A stalemate situation could arise. It is possible that the newly-elected president resigns because he says he does not want to work together with this platform. You, for instance, in your speech, did not disassociate yourself from a single platform, and neither has Rezso Nyers done this, until midday today. How is it possible to politicize in this way?

[Vastagh] In the political stances it is not these things which I consider decisive and determining, the question of who disassociates himself from what, in word. [passage omitted.

[Havas] Is it not true that in point of fact the work of the Congress is fundamentally determined by personal differences? Here I am thinking of the spectacular differences that emerged in the speeches of Karoly Grosz and Miklos Nemeth. Certain contributions gave cause for personal remarks of a kind that even carried away the experienced politician Janos Berecz. But I could also mention the argument of Geza Kotai and Karoly Grosz. This is almost unworthy of a congress.

[Vastagh] I agree with you. These manifestations which you mention are very, very, unpleasant accompanying phenomena of the Congress. These are the symptoms which now emerge, appear, from the tensions of the debates surrounding the transformation, and which contain no solution whatever but are merely of a symbolic significance. But what they are stood for is that they put a stamp on the mood of the Congress.

Delegates View New Party Creation

LD0710144889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] First, we report on what has happened at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress since midday. Our correspondents Gyoergyi B. Kiraly and Andras Kerekes report.

[Kiraly] Although the Congress is not yet characterized by an atmosphere of real political struggle, the debate on the party's character has ended. The most important questions: party unity or a party split; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party or Hungarian Socialist Party; a review of the members or a sovereign, voluntary decision by the party members?

[Kerekes] Andras Fabriczki, delegate from Budapest, emphasized that there is a great need for a new, socialist, left-wing party. Those who took the country along the mistaken path should not be allowed to fill leading roles in the party, and those whose hands are stained with blood and money should not even be allowed to be members.

[Kiraly] Also speaking about the possible members of the new party Ivan Csicsay said that the bigoted icon-worshippers must leave, but the decent hundreds of thousands cannot be compelled to join. In his view, the real danger is not a party split, but the party's falling apart into atoms.

[Kerekes] On behalf of the workers' section, as well as the Csepel workers, Mihaly Toth said that they have had enough of managers who send messages to one another over the heads of the workers, while in the meantime anarchy spreads.

[Kiraly] In connection with this thought, Sandor Szabo, one of the representatives of provincial Hungary, said that it is not enough to pay attention to the party's internal noises because if, instead of this, they were to pay attention from this hall here to the voice of the people, they would know that the silent majority is speaking. A new man is necessary for a new program, said the delegate. Thus, party unity is untenable. It is necessary to separate along the lines of rupture, and the new party must have a new leadership.

[Kerekes] It is not really within the party, but with society with which it is necessary to come to ocmpromise, said (Peter Kiss). For this, a turnabout is necessary; democratic socialism instead of proletarian dictatorship. With this, a period is really coming to a close; the history of the MSZMP program has come to an end.

[Kiraly] In his speech, which was received with sustained applause, Cszaba Tabajdi said that the sole possibility of salvaging the left-wing idea was the creation of a new socialist party. For this, however, it is not enough to have the intention; a volition and conscious organization also are necessary. The new party can be credible only if it has a new leadership, consisting of unequivocally pro-reform politicians. A bad compromise must not be concluded on behalf of a sham unity. This is also a national responsibility. The bounds of the compromises should be designated by the program, the alliance of platforms.

On behalf of the Joining Forces [oesszefogas] Platform, Laszlo Kemeny said that the movement was fulfilling a mission, since it had managed to keep the party together until the Congress. They had ended up in the crossfire between two extreme trends. In the end, it took sides with the creation of a new socialist party, defined by the People's Democratic Platform.

Pozsgay Holds News Conference

LD0710145789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress will continue its work today at 1700. During the break, Imre Pozsgay held an international news conference at (Intransmas) headquarters. Our colleague, Miklos Martin-Kovacs, sums up what was said:

[Martin-Kovacs] The news conference, at which several hundred journalists gathered, was characterized by great interest. At the Congress, the Presidium is also searching for a common denominator among the platforms, said Imre Pozsgay. As he said, the majority of the delegates want a new party, a new program, and a new leadership.

He mentioned the Reform Alliance as the most strikingly delineated platform, and he supports it. Incidentally, the platform submitted its theses on the founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party this morning. According to Pozsgay, alliance could be established with another strikingly delineated group, the People's Democratic Platform. He mentioned the limits of the proposed party program as the limits of compromise. Thus, in his view, the compromise may be expected, but it cannot yet be ruled out that the break will take place.

Imre Pozsgay, in reply to a question, said that if he is elected president of the republic he could no longer fill a party post. According to Pozsgay, the MSZMP has reached the end of its historic path and it has a chance at the elections only if it changes fundamentally, from every point of view.

Further on News Conference

LD0710172289 Budapest MTI in English 1509 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—Most of the delegates attending the Congress have taken the stand to set up a new party under the name Hungarian Socialist Party, and the almost unanimous view is that Rezso Nyers be party president, said Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Presidium, in the international press centre Saturday afternoon.

Answering questions, Mr Pozsgay said that members of the new Democratic Socialist Party to be formed as the alliance of platforms hold political action to be the most important, rather than the number of members.

All who agree with the programme and statutes of the party can join. The Hungarian Socialist Party rejects the possibility of proletarian dictatorship and does not declare, nor hold as guiding principle, the leading role of the party, and the principle of democratic centralism. It wishes to realize socialism in a constitutional, democratic law state.

The emerging party has already indicated its intention to establish contacts with the Socialist International.

In answer to whether this party would organize its membership in workplaces, Mr Pozsgay said that various solutions are known in the European political practice. However, people would oppose this in Hungary in view of the experiences of the past 40 years.

The next question was about the country's international relations. Mr Pozsgay said that Gorbachev's perestroyka provides a good backwind to the Hungarian changes and reforms. The party in the process of reorganization intends to cooperate and uphold friendly relations with the neighbouring socialist countries. Hungary would lose its balance and its European identity were it to turn back on its neighbours, Mr Pozsgay said. The party holds cooperation to be created with the European Community necessary, and strives to participate in the European political institutions in the widest possible sphere. Mr Pozsgay mentioned as example that representatives of Hungarian parliament are present, with conference rights, in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. With respect to neutrality, Mr Pozsgay said that as long as the membership of the military blocs does not decline, withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty is not a primary goal for Hungary, which can act in a sovereign manner also within the Warsaw Treaty.

Pozsgay on Political Changes

LD0710192789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[From the "168 Hours" program, interview with Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MSZMP, Presidium, by correspondent Akos Mester; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mester] If from the viewpoint of the reform forces, things develop fortuitously, the Hungarian Socialist Party will be formed at the Congress. At the time of our conversation this can be considered probable, but it is not a fact. Another question is the extent to which this interview is valid when it is aired. In any event, we are in a period of great speculation, and one of the most interesting suppositions is that the Hungarian Socialist Party might perhaps form as a result of a carefully prepared political putsch.

[Pozsgay] I do not know whether a transformation which is created jointly by congress delegates who are elected in the most democratic manner—at least as compared to the past 40 years—can be called a putsch. It clear to everyone, to the initiators, that this really will be a legitimate decision if the majority of the Congress votes for it. Thus, there is no question of a putsch, but there is of preparations. According to information, a great portion of the membership wants a turnabout, a new party.

[Mester] At any event, I imagine that we are in agreement that a rather confusing situation has already taken shape prior to the Congress, and perhaps you agree with me that the political underworld is working hard, whether having retired into the background, or in the open arena, but with the use of treacherous lies. In order to make what I am talking about even clearer, I shall add [that they are working] within the party, too.

[Pozsgay] Yes. I personally have lived through all the consequences of this. Unfortunately, an opening-up, the perfection of openness and democracy go hand-in-hand with forces coming forth, appearing in the light of day, which, in fact, to use your words, belong to the political underworld. What I am thinking of here are not only platforms, personal suspicions, and aspersions, but even more crude things—threats of arms, force—thus evoking a kind of mentality, a way of thinking, which arouses fear in the people.

[Mester] It is one thing to threaten with arms, and it is another thing whether or not I have any in my hands.

[Pozsgay] Yes. I hope that these forces have a louder voice than their real strength, and I hope that Hungarian society, and this new party which is now being formed, will have enough esteem and energy to go with it, in order to knock the weapons out of the hands of those who want to wield them. There will be no role for force and for a break-down of peace in the transformation.

[Mester] You speak in a very nuanced manner, but for all that, I understand from your words that if we are able to knock the weapon out of someone's hands, this implicitly means that the weapon is there.

[Pozsgay] There are such things. There is no doubt that such things can also exist. However, it is not worth linking ourselves too much to conditions and suppositions as a point of departure. What I know—and this is why it is necessary to speak clearly about it—is that the Hungarian Army and the Hungarian Police and Border Guard, have undertaken a constitutional role, and they will act in a constitutional manner. I am certain about this. Historical precedents also attest to this: In Hungary, the army has never undertaken at its initiative a domestic political role, and as was said here at the Congress, neither is it doing this now. It guarantees the safeguarding of the constitutional order.

Allow me to add, of course, that people of this or that persuasion may be in the possession of weapons. The laws have also made this possible for them. I reiterate: I consider it to be insignificant, and to be so indignantly rejected by public opinion that they will not dare to use these means.

[Mester] Yes, well then there is scarcely place for, let us say, a Workers' Guard of the structure that has been developed for the defense of the constitutional order and the homeland.

[Pozsgay] Yes. I believe that as was discussed at the political talks, it will be necessary to judge the matter of the Workers' Guard together with the reform of the army, and together with its historical role. Let us wait to see how this new party really appers in Hungarian public opinion, whether it makes recommendations for a resolution of this problem. What I can say is that the Workers' Guard has already been taken out of the hands of the party and it functions as an armed body subordinated to government.

[Mester] Please, there are those who say that we are now witnessing the party's radical renewal. Allow me to make a subjective remark. I have the growing impression that this is not exactly the question. In practice, there is no other way for the party to emerge from its own grave crisis.

[Pozsgay] And why should one be amazed that it wants to get out of this crisis? It has chosen the most merciless, the most painful path, to call quits with its own past, to reject all the causes which engendered so many crimes and crises, which it practised with repressive tools in its structure up to now; in a manner that, in a certain sense were also forced upon it from outside, but over a long period also undertaken by its leaderrs. To step out of this, to set itself apart from this, is necessary, unavoidable. It is one of the biggest transactions of this congress. It can only appear as a new party if it does this.

[Mester] Since we are on the question of how it will appear in public life as a new party, will the Hungarian Socialist Party, I wonder, insist on being the number one power factor of politics, or will it settle for less than that? Will it, perhaps, be forced to fuse?

[Pozsgay] It could be forced to fuse as well, though that is not a thing for the near future. We will learn which program, in this big glut of program proposals, will stand its ground before society. What I do see as certain is that the government of the future will be a national unity government, which will come into being from the coalition of parties. Only in this way can be attained the strong parliamentary majority with which a strong government can be established to handle the crisis.

[Mester] Right. The Hungarian Socialist Party obviously wishes to play a role and what is more it wishes to play a significant role in this. My question is whether it wishes to be the number one factor in politics?

[Pozsgay] Name me the party that does not, from the outset, step onto the stage with this ambition? I have not seen in history such an idiotic party which plans its policy for its own defeat, or retreat. But this is not the point. The point is whether it accepts the democratic rules, accepts them in a pluralistic contest, in the struggle of several parties, within the framework of a constitutional order, and accepts every consequence of the elections, even the consequences of defeat. And this Hungarian Socialist Party does have this intention, and in this way it induces trust in this program, in this coming political struggle.

[Mester] Yes, well, the way they formulated at this Congress is that the time has come for a parting of the ways within the party. My impression is that, in fact, this dramatic moment arrived much earlier; only they did not dare to take the step which cannot be avoided. Therefore, for my own part, I do not agree when they say that the time has now come for a parting of the ways. The Hungarian Socialist Party would be much more trustworthy if it had already attempted this earlier on. But obviously there will still be a lot of debate about this.

[Pozsgay] You do not have to convince me of this. Akos Mester knows my views. I too have felt in recent years that we are lagging behind. It is not impossible to make up for this lag, but it has undoubtedly brought about big disadvantages for the country. The possibility for it is here now. The time for it came a long time ago, the possibility for it has come now, for this new party to be formed.

[Mester] Please, even if I feel this argument to be acceptable, let me add that I know the political views not only of Imre Pozsgay, but I also know those of others, who have absolved themselves within the party in the past few decades, or let us say, particularly in the past 1 and ½ years. And the impression I gained at this Congress is that the adversaries of yesterday's platform forum are already beginning to pull across to the reform group which is appearing victorious. And this is doing no good for the reform group.

[Pozsgay] I see this differently. I know who those are with whom I don't wish to be in one party. And I hope that this program and this statute will separate these from this party. And if, on the other hand, even the opportunists are orienting themselves in the direction of the reform, this is a good indication that this will be the stronger side. On the other hand, such a thing is possible in politics. But even so, I would not start out from suspicion, but from the supposition that the membership of this party was not really able to be a real factor in the decisions and in the shaping of the policy. It suffered just as much from the decisions of a centralized and dictatorial power as did the majority of the citizens. Set free from its sense of guilt, it would again like to be a political factor. In other words, whoever wishes to should be allowed to be in the Hungarian Socialist Party. For this will not be a party of a world outlook. It will not be some kind of religious organization, in the original sense of the word. It will only be an alliance of platforms, standpoints, and currents, born on the basis of one program.

[Mester] You will not be cross if I say that I am much more skeptical in this matter than you. What I'm afraid of is that once more the thing will start to move in the direction of sham unity, and we both know quite well what unforeseeable consequences can arise from maintaining sham unity.

[Pozsgay] For this very reason I believe that a clarification will take place along this path, along this line. I also share this anxiety of yours that there will be a good number of opportunists as well, who, in the token of a formal or sham unity, will perhaps attach themselves where they have no business.

[Mester] On the one hand, that is what is at issue. On the other hand, what is at issue is how the future party leadership will receive and tolerate such endeavors. Otherwise, my feeling is that it is emphasized too often that this future party will be ready to cooperate with the reform forces, with the sympathizing currents. But I am not only curious about that, but about whether they are ready for confrontation.

[Pozsgay] For all that, what is also apparent is how sharp the confrontations, clashes, and attitudes that reject certain ideas are. From this viewpoint, the manifestations and contributions by the county spokesmen were impressive yesterday. The fact that they worked together with spokesmen that chose to use such a tone shows a change in the members. Finally, I add that in my view, the party has not yet awoken sufficiently for there to be a multiparty system here, a genuine multiparty system, although it has obtained its first experience of this. If it emerges, becomes clear in the political arena that the party-state and state-party structure has ceased to exist, and that it can remain only through political struggle, then this will be the gauge.

[Mester] Yes, this will be verified when it emerges in full clarity that the Hungarian Socialist Party wants to make those whom I call the great liars disappear from the political arena, while in the meantime it does not necessarily want to settle scores with them. And if you do not mind, the great liars are present here, now, at this party congress, here in the hall. They are present even if they do not necessarily go up to the microphone to speak.

[Pozsgay] They are present. Indeed, they are taking part in the decisions, because for the most part they are delegates. Yet this, too, shows what kind of structure it is from which we must part company. This is valid to the present day, until Monday, and thereafter will come the new period.

[Mester] Many people say that, properly speaking, it is necessary here to choose between democratic socialism and proletarian dictatorship. My opinion is different. In my view, this is a false alternative which stubbornly and intentionally omits a version, as if there were no possibility whatsoever for it, for what I call left-wing bourgeois democracy.

[Pozsgay] No, that is a big error. This does not leave out any possibility. On the contrary, what is at issue here is that as the pluralistic, constitutional, legal state is recognized, it also recognizes that such forces can also appear, and no kind of constitution can deny them. In that case, neither can any constitution prohibit the left wing from organizing itself anew as a left wing with a socialist reference, or from organizing a new party. I view this from that viewpoint; and from that viewpoint, this party has at least as much chance as an Italian Socialist Party or a German Social Democratic Party, or another similar party.

[Mester] Please, interviews are a genre which do not have validity over time. Thus, what might happen is that what I say is true at the time of the conversation, but is not true at the time it is heard or published in the newspaper. Do you trust that our conversation will be true when it is heard on "168 Hours" or when it is published in the weekly entitled "168 Hours"?

[Pozsgay] Look. Never have I believed myself to be infallible. What I can say is only that I always say the truth, and I always speak frankly, according to my conviction, but for all that I could be mistaken. That is how I have weighed up the situation. Let us look in the Tuesday editions of the newspapers, whether this is how things really shaped up.

[Mester] Thank you.

Platform Representatives on Alliance

LD0710192289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] We turn to the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress. Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz report.

[Correspondent] The delegates are deciding in these moments about the nature of the new party, that is the Hungarian Socialist Party, which will probably be formed. Before this, the platforms debated the document being prepared for over almost 45 minutes.

Rezso Nyers, who is speaking at the moment, evaluated the draft as being suitable for a compromise between platforms.

A short time ago we made the following interview.

[Correspondent] Does the fact that the representatives of what could be called the two strongest platforms at the 14th Congress are sitting here beside each other, namely Attila Agh from the Reform Alliance and Gyoergy (Wiener) from the People's Democratic Platform—does this mean what could already be suspected here at the Congress, that the two platforms are merging or perhaps reaching an agreement in the question that the MSZMP will cease and a new party will form under a new name?

[Agh] The two platforms tried to find alliance through negotiations, they tried to find minimal points for agreement. So, I would on the one hand emphasize our very grave difference, but at the same time the finding of common points. This is why I see the new party here, which we would like to form as a platform alliance.

[Correspondent] In face of this, the People's Democratic Platform thinks that it is not a new party which needs to be created, but that the MSZMP must be formed anew. Did your standpoints come any closer?

[Wiener] They came closer in that forming anew and the new party is largely a question of formulation. From our point of view, that is from the point of view of the People's Democratic Platform, a fundamental demand was that the membership of the new, or newly-forming party should be able to participate in the activity of the party with continuity. That is, that there should not only be a legal continuity between the two political institutions, but going beyond this that there be no need in the question of membership—either for new membership joining, of for revisal of members.

[Correspondent] Does the Reform Alliance agree with this?

[Agh] For us, the emphasis in all these questions is on the breaking of continuity and radical renewal.

[Correspondent] Strangely enough, these two platforms agree in all ways on one thing: that there is continuity in the question of party assets, there is no need there for a break in continuity, that the new party will inherit or come into the assets of the MSZMP.

[Agh] We did not agree in this at all, and there can be no question of this either. There is continuity in that the new party naturally must retain the objective conditions for its functioning. But our standpoint is that the substantial part of the assets, after accounting, must be returned to society.

[Wiener] There were no negotiations about this, either within the individual platforms, or in the debate between the platforms. According to our opinion, the congress must decide on the question of party assets—as a separate item or part of a separate agenda point.

Giving over to society should not be simply interpreted as our giving this over to the government, that we will then use it in some way. But the part of party assets which derive from payments of membership fees and party enterprises, should definitely come under the disposition of the membership. By giving over to society we mean that instead of the party elite, the party membership should have disposal of the party assets. The only part which should be returned for the whole of society is that which was financed from the state budget, and in this way does not represent the property of a determined group.

[Correspondent] Does the fact that the People's Democratic and the Reform Alliance members are making an alliance with each other mean that these two platforms can now force their own will, the new party, and whatever else, at the Congress?

[Agh] We did nothing more than reach a sober, realistic starting point. The role of this starting point is to become the central seed of further compromises. So this breakthrough which happened here at the Congress today must not be overvalued either, but what must be emphasized is that after this, there very long political debates remain.

[Correspondent] Does the representatives of the People's Democratic Platfrom think that the 700,000 party membership is willing to accept this compromise you have made with the Reform Alliance?

[Wiener] I would not limit the existence of the new party, or the renewed party, and the membership's relations to this party, to the compromise of these two platforms. No platform representing itself at this Congress should be allowed to be excluded from the new party. But we consider it of fundamental significance that in some form, either with the continuity of membership fee payments—for example with the paying of the December membership fee—or with the signing of some kind of document, the membership joins along.

We would definitely like the reduction of the party membership to cease, although in this question we cannot forsee enough when we wish to weigh up the future.

[Agh] Apart from these two large platforms, there is a third fundamental power center at the Congress, upon which both these aforementioned large platforms depend. The provinces...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Can this be the balance pointer?

[Wiener] It is more than the pointer. I would emphasize that the handing in of such debt—that we have neglected the countryside, neglected the agrarian sphere, all those stifled passions and endeavors ennobled into political thought which is formulated in the countryside—contributed to an extraordinary extent to some kind of breakthrough commencing.

Nyers on Socialist Party's Character

LD0710190189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] We again link up with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress. Our congress reporters briefly sum up a speech by Rezso Nyers.

On the draft standpoint concerning the party's character, Rezso Nyers said that it is suitable for the Hungarian Socialist Party to build on. He noted that the new party came into existence after compromises. This is necessary because if a party falls apart, into pieces, it does not serve democracy. However, he dissociated himself from certain people wanting to transform the movement into a bourgeois party.

The Hungarian Socialist Party wants to be a ruling party, however, not the government's party but that of the people. It would like to bring into its ranks the peasantry, the workers, and the professionals. Rezso Nyers also offered the possibility of cooperation to the opposition parties, even if these now separate themselves from the Socialist Party which is being formed anew.

Janos Berecz spoke after Rezso Nyers. Janos Berecz hit out: It is not entirely fair of Rezso Nyers to speak now. What is at issue is not just anything: it is the party's name, substance, organizational statutes. This should have been received in written form, and not read out.

At this moment, voting is taking place at the Congress, or rather, there is further debate on the draft standpoint. [as heard]

Nyers, Berecz Remarks Noted

LD0710201989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] We again connect the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Congress. Our Congress correspondent briefly sums up a speech by Rezso Nyers.

[Correspondent] On the draft standpoint concerning the party's character, Rezso Nyers said that it was suitable for the Hungarian Socialist Party to build on. He noted that the new party had come into existence at the cost of compromises. This is necessary, because if a party falls apart, into pieces, it does not serve democracy. However, he disassociated himself from certain people wanting to transform the movement into a bourgeois party.

The Hungarian Socialist Party wants to be a ruling party, however not the government's party, but that of the people. It would like to mass in its ranks the peasantry, the workers, and the professionals. Rezso Nyers also offered the possibility of cooperation to the opposition parties—even if these now separate themselves from the Socialist Party which is being formed anew.

Janos Berecz spoke after Rezso Nyers. Janos Berecz, after doing a lap of honor [as heard] struck out: it was not entirely fair of Rezso Nyers to speak now. What is at issue is not just anything: it is the party's name, substance, organisational statutes. This should have been received in written form, and not read out.

Just now, voting is taking place at the Congress, or rather there is further debate over the draft standpoint.

Roundup of Day's Speeches

LD0710215289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpts] According to all probability, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will only exist for a few hours more and the Hungarian Socialist Party will be formed. The delegates at the MSZMP congress are now debating the proposal that patching up is not enough, a radical change is needed. The program of the proposed new party rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat; it does not accept the central form of direction called democratic centralism. At the same time it wants democratic socialism and a pluralist constitutional state. The acute and difficult debates are still underway.

Jozsef Hidvegi summarises the day.

[Hidvegi] [passage omitted] It was in this morning's debate that Premier Miklos Nemeth spoke. We quote from his speech:

[Begin Nemeth recording] Whatever can be said about the state of our party, about the place it occupies in society, about its ideological, moral and, I may add, leadership crisis—and because of all this, about the necessity for its radical renewal, in actual fact, therefore, about the elemental demand for the creation of a new party—has already been said before me by everybody in this hall. And not by same people who by tradition usually renew our party movement and who have stood at the head of every renewal, but first and foremost by those who for so long in this country have been condemned to the role of obedient followers described with the epithet provincial [applause] or of silent cotravellers.

A new party is needed, with a new program, with a new organization, with new leaders, and with a new name. To me this latter is also an important issue. [end recording]

[Hidvegi] Janos Berecz, representing the Solidarity-MSZMP platform, asked, out of turn, for the possibility to express himself for 2 and ½ minutes. He declared that he has remained a communist. He called on Rezso Nyers—although he acknowledged that he is not in an easy situation—saying that he must decide whether he will take with him the reform communists or not in the new party. He was, in fact, alluding to an earlier speaker, who said that the reform communists should form a new party. The party chairman will therefore have to say, the speaker stressed, whether he subscribes to reform or not.

As for the issue raised by Ivan Vitanyi, he reacted by saying that Vitanyi was too soon in sharing out the party's assets, because, after all, the congress has taken no decision yet.

Replying to remarks concerning his person, he observed that they can send him and other leaders to the stake, but they cannot send the 720,000 party members, who incidentally are represented by those seated in the hall, Berecz said.

Pal Vastagh, from County Csongrad, drew attention to the fact that for them the forthcoming election of president of the republic will be decisive. They must join forces in order that the candidate of this party should be the winner.

The political bombshell which was perhaps not so unexpected exploded an hour before the start of our broadcast. The members belonging to the Reform Alliance and to the People's Democratic Platforms submitted a proposal to form a new party.

You can now hear the speech from the first speaker contributing to the discussion, Rezso Nyers.

[Begin Nyers recording] Esteemed comrades: I, for my part, consider the draft now submitted to be a compromise acceptable in principle and suitable for serving the rebirth of our party, the formation of a new type of new left-wing socialist party, in a way that this party distances itself from the Stalinist remnants still existing in our predecessor party, distances itself from the mistakes of the past, and at the same time is the inheritor of the progressive reform endeavors of the MSZMP. This, in my opinion, is the political essence of the relations between the old party and the new party.

The creation of the new party is of great significance from the point of view of the continuity of Hungarian democracy, constitutionality, and socialism. The fundament of Hungarian democracy has still not been laid down in Hungarian society. Laws are in preparation. They still have to be adopted. The laws do not yet mean the realization of the new democratic system. Political strength has to stand behind this, for democracy is not just a voting card but a system which enjoys political support from the people. [applause]

We have already experienced the collapse of the fourth republic at the end of the fifties in France, which had a perfect multiparty system, a perfect electoral mechanism, and politically it collapsed. And then De Gaulle, who was a conservative man, but a great man, had to save, salvage democracy. So, we must take care of democracy, prepare for democracy. I say this because in Hungary, there can be no well-founded fundamental democracy without a socialist movement, a socialist party. [applause] And everyone must take cognizance of this. [applause]

And those who would like to see that after the MSZMP there will be a socialist movement which falls into little bits do not serve democracy. [applause] Without the socialist working community, cooperatized peasantry, the socialist and left-wing intelligentsia, we will not be able to solve the great and difficult historical task of constitutionalization. Shall we be a party under renewal or a new type of party? This platform of principle will decide this debate, in the sense that it pledges faith alongside a new type of party. I think this is a very progressive historical step. Every socialist must support this from the bottom of his heart.

This means that we are resolutely and definitively breaking with the proletarian dictatorship form of exercising power, and with the accompanying ideology. It means that we are raising party democracy and freedom of opinion to the status of party law, and we are breaking with the remnants of democratic centralism which still remain up to now, with the understanding that democracy is freedom and this must be asserted within the party too. [applause] I would like to say something, as my personal opinion, about the name. I am not ashamed of the name the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Nor am I ashamed that up to now I have been a member of it. [applause]

I have pondered a lot about this: This name is good, it is close to my heart, and so is the name Socialist Party. In principle, as well, I approve of it. Which one should I choose? In the end, I have come to recognize that if I am a reformer, a reformer who is attracted to the new, although true—a kind of long-distance runner, who, in the short-term, has often been overtaken [laughter and applause]—then if I have to choose between the old and the new, I shall choose the new, and this is what I recommend, esteemed comrades. [applause]

From what do we have to separate ourselves? We have to separate ourselves from narrow class politics, which is rigid—not from the workers and not from the peasantry. Naturally, we have to separate ourselves from those who would want to transform the new socialist party into a bourgeois party. There will be better and more bourgeois parties. [applause]. We cannot be that kind of bourgeois party, nor should we be. [applause]

Janos Berecz asked me whether I want the reform communists and reform communism to be included in the new party. I include them, and they belong there. [applause] Then, it is necessary to be reform communist. It is necessary to accept its program, and it is necessary to accept its basic statutes.

I would like Janos Berecz to fight on, with pen, and not with weapons [laughter] for the reform party, as a reform communist. That is his right. I regret if he spoke emotionally, but others also spoke emotionally.

I would like to say something, esteemed comrades, on the relationship between the party and the government.

I hope that this government will not transform itself into an independent government of experts, but that it will be the MSZMP's government, and in that event we, the MSZMP, or the Hungarian Socialist Party—if that is what we will be—will have to support the government in its difficult task of economic renewal, reforms, and stabilization. [applause]

I have heard a fine list, here, of the goverment's heartening achievements. In my view, this list must be augmented. [laughter] And I have said, and would say this even if I were a member of the government. [as heard]

As for the relationship with government: We must support the government, and we must not revert to the previous mistake of the party trying to direct the government. The government must be independent, and only in that manner can it be responsible. [applause]

The government is controlled by the party, via its parliamentary deputies. The government must answer to parliament, and that is right. And if our parliamentary strength is weak, we will not be able to influence the government. Thus we need parliamentary strength. At the same time, I agree that we should be a government party. I would like to refine this view: This is an issue of principle, for every socialist movement, in the west too—not entirely in the east [laughter] because the situation is confused. The party is not the government's party; the party is the masses' party, and if is provides a government even then it must convey the masses' interests the government, and if necessary, call it to account. [applause]

I would like to say something about our relationship with the opposition. We have to recognize the merits of those narrow democratic movements—they used to be narrow movemements—which for years have been calling our former party to account for democracy. They have merits. They have real merits in criticism.

The former faulty political structure was attacked from two sides: from the side of democratic socialism—from the side of the reformers within the party; and from the side of bourgeois democracy. This is the truth, and we owe it to the truth to admit this. We have to be cotravellers with the really democratic opposition which wants to give a wide base to democracy.

In the future, we have to be cotravellers in creating the constitution even if we are going to compete with each other at the elections. Therefore, we have to foster the possibility of cooperation with those democratic forces even if, as a result of short-term popular interests, they now only dissociate themselves from us. [applause]

We stretch out our hand for democracy. But, please, I would like to add this: We shall not, and we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any other party. We do not want to create leaderships there, but we ask with respect that the other parties and movements do not seek to nominate from outside the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and not want to determine its policy. [applause]

Finally, I would like to bring this to your attention: It is very important that we should correctly define our role in the socialist world movement. In my opinion it is defined correctly in this principled platform. It will still have to be unfolded later, and made clear both abroad and at home that we must strive for alliance with the communist parties that pursue reform, for cooperation on the basis of solidarity.

At the same time, even if it seems premature to some, we must still pursue, in principle and in the long term, the international reunification of the socialist movement on a democratic basis, as an aim which for the time being is distant, but beautiful. [applause]

And on this basis we must be able to enter into an organic relationship with the socialist parties, social democratic parties and the socialist International as well. [applause]

Dear comrades, it seems to me that after a difficult birth some new force will be born here now—if it is accepted—which is encouraging from the viewpoint of socialism, from the viewpoint of democracy as well, if we can still find a leadership, if we can assembly one which is sufficiently homogenous be capable of action, but which is sufficiently pluralistic to be capable of debate, to give the party the possibility for control, and to be creative. If this leadership does not want to be totally monolithic then it will be a good leadership.

I think, esteemed comrades, that with this, in essence, the drafts of the party's program declaration and organizational rules and regulations, can be considered adopted, and we should strive only for practical observations with regard to refining the points of the text—something which we should by now conduct not in lengthy discussions, but by collating the observations with some well-organized platform activity. We have now seen that the platforms, too, are working better and better, and more and more cleverly. The drafting committee could create these two documents within a short time, and then we shall do our share. Thank you for (? the leave to speak). [applause] [end recording]

HSP 'Distances Itself' From MSZMP

LD0710200789 Budapest MTI in English 1847 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—The group of delegates from the Reform Alliance and the People's Democratic Platform participating at the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress have proposed setting up a new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party. The proposal was made before the full meeting of the conference.

Under the draft position set out at 6 P.M. on Saturday [7 October] the age synonymous with the name Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has now come to an end in Hungarian history, and the curtain has come down on the history of the HSWP as a state party. The new party to come into existence at the Congress distances itself from the crimes, erroneous ideas and incorrect methods, and breaks with the system of the bureaucratic party state and the principle of democratic centralism.

The new party is one of the heirs of the best efforts of Hungarian progress and the ideas of nation and progress. It wishes to maintain close and integral relations both with the East European left-wing parties striving for reforms, and the western reform Communist, Socialist and Social Democratic parties.

The draft says the new reform party "is the party of those who share from incomes on the basis of their work, the party of entrepreneurs, Hungarians and compatriots of other nationalities. The principles of its operation include ideological and political patience and the free and voluntary alliance of currents."

Under the motion, the Congress should announce the founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), upholding legal continuity. Membership issues are also involved in the founding of the HSP. The plan is for the basic organizations to be convened by October 31, those who accept the statutes and the basic theses of the manifesto will become members of the HSP. The new party would then set up the leaderships of the basic organizations, register its membership at meetings, issue new party cards, and discuss, as its first meaningful task, the means of preparing for the parliamentary elections.

The first to address the debate over the submitted proposal was Rezso Nyers, who called on the Congress to approve the position.

Hungarian Socialist Party Founded

LD0710201789 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—At 8.20 p.m. on Saturday evening, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress approved with an overwhelming majority—159 votes against and 38 abstentions—the draft document on the character of the party.

In so doing, it founded the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP).

Party Position Document Vote Taken

LD0810003189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2035 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Esteemed viewers, tomorrow we will have to use a new heading for our program [formerly titled, "We report from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) 14th Congress]. A good ½ hour ago the MSZMP ceased to exist and a Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [as heard, name has been changed to Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)] has begun to function in our country. [passage omitted]

Premier Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Presidium, was received with applause on the speaker's podium. Three of the four MSZMP Presidium members spoke yesterday. Many people thought there is undoubtedly a reason why the fourth, Miklos Nemeth, only asked, and was granted, leave to speak today. [passage omitted]

[Begin Nemeth recording] Nowadays many say the government has moved away from its party. This is not true. The government has indeed moved, but it has not moved away, rather it has moved closer. It has moved closer to the party, which is now being formed here in this hall. [applause]

Because, for what the government is doing, and wants to do, in the nation's interest, it needs a new party like this. A new party like this will be a government party, in the best sense of the word, or rather a governing party. In this case the members of the government will not feel the office they hold in the party and the government is a double burden. For it will not be the party that delegates them to the government, but the party will elect them into its own leadership because they are members of a government to support, which is in the elemental interest of its party.

The government, therefore, has asserted the interests of the party, of the nation. Thanks is due for the fact that in this it enjoyed the support of party members, of the reform forces. The government is also the government of the reform forces, to whom the government has expressly drawn closer, what is more, cooperation and alliance have evolved between them.

Unfortunately, the party leadership only adapted late to the changes, and this could have been prevented both by the party leadership, and perhaps—and I am sure of it—the government as well. I do not wish to evaluate the government's work; I assert only one thing: the government's words are backed up by deeds. This government has proved that it is different from the previous governments.

I am convinced that now the party too must prove it too will be different from what it has been uptil now. [applause]

What do I ask on the government's behalf? The party should transform from a state party into a government party. In other words, a new party is needed, with a new program, with a new organization, with new leaders and with a new name. To me this latter is also an important issue. [applause]

Let us have a party in which we are at home, which is really ours. Whoever does not feel good here can form another party. It is possible now. For us it is not the number of members, but the number of election votes that is important.

I am convinced the congress can get into the pages of Hungarian history if its objectives evolve here today in the vincinity of the reform alliance platform, and as the compromise of good proposals formulated in other platforms as well.

For us, therefore, one thing is important: Let us be a new party, inwardly capable of functioning, and outwardly creditworthy. [applause]

Let us perform our task, let us do our work, with the intention of advancing and winning at the democratic free elections. [prolonged applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] This was the last time the MSZMP congress took a vote.

[Begin recording] [Gyula Horn, acting chairman] Those who accept the standpoint on the party's nature, with the approved modifications, I ask them to vote with their delegates' passes, thank you. [prolonged applause] Who is against the document? [commotion in hall]

[Unidentified voice] Esteemed congress, on the occasion of our previous vote, 1,202 people voted. Now the computer shows that those who did not support the the overwhelming majority, well, there are altogether 197 of these in the hall. Of these, 159 vote against this formulation of the document, and 38 have abstained.

[Horn] Dear Comrades, the congress has adopted the standpoint on the party's nature in an absolute majority, with 159 votes against, 38 abstentions. [prolonged applause]

With this the congress has proclaimed the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party. [applause, followed by the singing of the national anthem]

HSP 'Position' Document 'Text'

LD0710220889 Budapest MTI in English 2113 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—There follows the full text of the document entitled 'Position on the Nature of the Party':

The age synonymous with the name Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has ended in the history of our country. The hitherto conception of socialism, the system of Stalinist origin, has used up all its social, economic, political and moral reserves, and is not suited to keep up with the world development. With this, the history of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] as a state party has ended. In the interest of comprehensive and radical social, economic and political renewal, it is indispensable that a new party be formed from it.

The new party which will come about at the congress faces the past of its predecessor with merciless sincerity. It distances itself from the crimes, and the principles and methods that had proven erroneous and incorrect. It breaks with the system of the bureaucratic party state and the principle of democratic centralism. At the same time, the emerging party considers itself as the heir to the reform efforts within the HSWP. It fully accepts the universal values of human development, humanism, freedom, democracy, and respect for work that brings about values.

It continues the lasting traditions of the socialist and communist movement, and professes the principle of solidarity and social justice as its own. At the same time, it professes that the ideas of social justice and human freedoms cannot be opposed to each other. Nor can the uncontrolled forces of the market be allowed to prevail over social welfare and cultural values.

The party is one of the heirs to the best efforts of Hungarian progress, to the ideas of nation and progress, and the idea of the peoples living along the Danube sharing a common fate. It wishes to maintain close and integral relations both with the central and East European left-wing parties striving for reforms, and the world's reform communist, socialist, and social democratic parties.

The new reform party is the party of those who share from incomes on the basis of their work, the party of entrepreneurs, Hungarians and compatriots of other nationalities. The principles of its operation include ideological and political patience and the free and voluntary alliance of trends.

Our party will become a modern left-wing socialist movement from a state party, a political mass party controlled by its membership, one which stretches out its hand to all democratic and progressive Hungarian forces, and considers itself an integral part of the European left-wing. Following the aims of democratic socialism and always respecting the laws of the constitutional state, it is ready to cooperate with all forces that show a readiness for this in the interest of getting the country out of the crisis. It wishes to contribute to the establishment of a socialist market economy of mixed ownership, and a multi-party parliamentary democracy that relies on the system of self-governments.

The congress also wishes to express the radical political renewal through the name of the party. Upholding legal continuity, it announces the founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) wishes to retain, and would like to see join, those who agree with its manifesto and accept its statues.

The HSP should be registered after the congress. The founding of the HSP also involves membership issues. Therefore, basic organizations should be convened by October 31, 1989. Those who approve the statutes and basic theses of the party's manifesto and authenticate this through their signatures will become members of the HSP.

The members of the HSP should set up—if the demand is there—their basic organizations by November 10, 1989, and begin recruiting members and organizing the new party. At the membership meetings, they should prepare the register of members, issue new membership cards, elect their leaders and delegates, and discuss the means of preparing for the elections.

Grosz Criticizes New Party

LD0710214189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[text] According to Karoly Grosz, the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party is a step back into the past. It will not solve the problem. Along with this, the politician signalled that he had changed his mind; he does not want to retire. Indeed, if the new platform contains all of the elements of the congress debate, he too will join the grouping.

New Party Finances To Be Discussed

LD0810090889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Socialist Party was founded and the Saturday working day of the congress, started by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, [MSZMP] was concluded with this. Miklos Martin-Kovacs summarizes the day:

[Martin-Kovacs] The Hungarian Socialist Party was founded as the legal successor of the MSZMP. One of the obvious signs of change is that the slogan,—proletars of the world unite—was removed from the front page of the NEPSZABADSAG, and the paper is qualified as a socialist daily. [passage omitted]

After serious arguments, the congress decided finally that the MSZMP members will have to indicate with their signatures shortly as to whether they wish to join the new party. [passage omitted]

In the next phase of its work the congress will deal with the financial situation of the new party and with questions which might seem relatively insignificant, but which in reality are important; such as, for example, what should the symbol system of the party be like. Since, as a foreign journalist put it at the evening press briefing, it has to be decided what to do with the masses of Lenin pictures hanging in offices all over the country, and with other decorations which were put up as the symbol of the MSZMP's ideology.

Reportage on 8 Oct HSP Congress Proceedings

Third Working Day

LD0810111189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Correspondents Gyorgyi B. Kiraly and Andras Kerekes report on events so far on the third working day of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

[Correspondents] The debate on the [party] statute [alapszabaly] has begun at the congress of the political party which now already bears the name of Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. Although according to the original agenda it was to be a debate on the document summing up the assessment of our historical road and the draft program declaration, the delegates have now agreed—by a large majority—to submit their comments in writing to the editorial committee. And, taking into account an amendment proposal, it is this version that will be debated before adoption.

Ivan T. Berend, who is chairing the session, called the deputies' attention to the fact that in both NEPSZABADSAG and VASARNAPI HIREK one of the paragraphs of the congress' stand of the HSP appeared imprecisely because the correspondents of the papers in question had received a faulty text. This is how the sentence reads properly: Whoever accepts the statute of the party and basic tenet of its program declaration and certifies this with a signature, confirms their membership of the HSP.

Returning to the debate on the statute, Andras Gulyas, who first spoke on behalf of the Reform Alliance, emphasized that there is a need for a statute which forbids the accumulation of functions and the practice of cooption.

One important proposal is that the party leaders, when nominated, should undertake in a written declaration that they will work honestly and that they will not cause moral damage to the party. Furthermore, they should make a compulsory declaration of property ownership both at the time of their nomination and when leaving their function.

(Gabor Thirring) asked that the statute should lay down the possibility for the creation of sections [tagozatok] and immediately gave notice of the demand of the Provinces Section for registration. He also proposed that nominees on the multiple candidates' lists—for on Friday [6 October] the congress adopted this form of election—should introduce themselves to the delegates.

Robert Hoch removed his badge of the Solidarity Movement in front of the congress saying that the movement has fulfilled its task, and thus the time for its cessation has come.

Further on Congress

LD0810124189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] First, we go over to the Budapest Congress Center. The delegates are participating in a unique historical situation, whose essence is that within a few days, they will be able to pass decisions on behalf of two parties. Our reporters are Zsolt Bocskai and Andras Kerekes:

[Reporter] The debate on the basic statute ended 5 minutes ago, and the drafting committee has been meeting for a half hour continuously processing the various proposals.

In the meantime, a short time ago, the Congress decided that it would, after all, hold a general debate on the party's draft program-statement, although it had appeared to relinquish this debate. To put it more precisely, it accepted the simplification that the delegates should send their observations directly to the drafting committee, and that a further debate on the written material will be held.

The work of the congress is not only taking place in the hall, but also in the corridors. As one of the delegates on the platform noted: The leadership is taking shape, and the platforms are not resting, either.

There were some who were compelled to protest because due to circumstances they found their names on another platform, while in the meantime they had not changed their affiliation.

Otherwise, in the sole, brief recess of the morning, the county and regional delegates of the Reform Alliance decided that in four issues they would try to prompt the Congress to take a stand. First and foremost, they consider it important that a national ethics committee should be formed, whose most important characteristic would be openness. They are thinking of a body to which any basic organization or member could have direct recourse. They want an unequivocal stand on the matter of party property and the future of the Workers' Guard, and also concerning how the workplace organizations should function in the future.

In the debate on the basic statute, Andras Gulyas who was the first to speak, representing the Reform Alliance, emphasized that a basic statute is necessary which bans the accumulation of functions and the practice of cooption. He went on to propose that the party's leaders should make compulsory statements of their nomination and also at the time they leave their position.

(Akos Thirring) proposed that candidates in limited-list elections [zart listas valasztas szereploei] should introduce themselves to the delegates. (Ferenc Kohalmi), representing the Reform Alliance, emphasized that the adoption of a new name is not enough: a real about-face must take place in order for the congress to fulfil its historical mission.

So far, every basic statute has said that the congress is the party's highest organ. Yet, one single brief period destroyed everything: the Central Committee deputized between two congresses, and it was this body which passed all of the important political resolutions. This must be stopped.

(Zoltan Haller), from Country Komarom, partly disputed this. He said that the situation has changed. The new party will not have a central committee but a board [valasztmany] on which the minority will also be represented. For this reason, power and possibilities must not be taken away from this body.

Ferenc Nagy from Jozsefvaros also emphasized the important role of the board as a body which is not a participant in executive power, and whose main mission, for this reason, could be in controlling activity, thereby also asserting the basic principle that the membership—since it is the membership which delegates people to the board—is above the congress.

By the way, today's work at the congress began with a procedural debate. Lajos Gubcsi, the delegate from County Zala, said that election by limited list [zartlisztas valasztas] which the congress had agreed with a large majority on Friday, is wrong. He proposed open nomination, by individual. His motion was rejected by the congress with a large majority. The original plan remains.

In the debate, Matyas Szuros said there is a need for an organizational framework which does not make it possible for new oligarchies to arise and which unequivocally separates the spheres of jurisdiction of executive and controlling organs. The former relationship of the Politburo and the Central Committee cannot be continued. He emphasized that ensuring an equality of chances for the countryside is indispensable for European integration.

Pal Eotvos, editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, said that for the time being the paper must improvise. It is a rather delicate task to strike a balance between lasting and changing elements in a headline. True, it is a new newspaper of a new party. Nevertheless, the editorial staff believe that it is necessary to adhere to the old brand-name, NEPSZABADSAG.

Political Fighting 'Growing Fiercer'

LD0810134189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Our correspondent Andras Kerekes reports from the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Congress.

[Kerekes] This is the 3d day of the party congress, or let us say the first working day of the new HSP party; however, the consultations will only continue at 1630. In a short while, the platforms will begin to coordinate their standpoints on the draft program-standpoint and the draft basic statutes.

A noteworthy development is that the political fighting is growing fiercer—albeit not in the session hall. According to news from the corridors, Karoly Grosz was reportedly sought out by several members of the Ferenc Muennich Society, and they retired to the neighboring Novotel Hotel. As is rumored, at the initiative of a group of revolutionary social democrats and communists, a party will be formed under the name of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP]. To be more precise, it would not be formed, but it would continue. In their perception, the congress' delegates acted in an unauthorized manner, because they had a mandate only for a renewal of the MSZMP and not for the formation of a new party. They will try to win over Karoly Grosz to their ideas.

Otherwise, Janos Berecz is very active too. He has given several interviews, and he reportedly stressed that he remains an MSZMP member.

The delegates have received several draft documents. One of them is from Lajos Bokros, economist and a member of the Reform Alliance, who wants a political standpoint from the congress on the matter of party property. First and foremost, he notes that the MSZMP's operational expenses every year exceeded the party's current revenues. For this reason, the MSZMP cannot have its own property. Thus, the HSP acknowledges that the property of the former MSZMP belongs to society.

Grosz To Retire

LD0810151189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Interview with Karoly Grosz by Peter Trebics at Budapest Congress Center 8 October—recorded]

[Text] We now go to the Budapest congress center. Andras Kerekes reports.

[Kerekes] The recess is still going on, but it is the time for active platform consultations. On the basis of reports from the corridors, I reported an hour ago that Karoly Grosz had met a group of people who called themselves revolutionary social democrats and communists. Since then, Karoly Grosz has reappeared in the congress center. Peter Trebics, our correspondent, immediately asked him to the microphone. Karoly Grosz first and foremost reaffirmed that he is abiding by his earlier decision, and—no matter what kinds of rumors are circulating—he is going to retire. Now here are the details of the conversation.

[Begin recording] [Trebics] Could we hear some details about the discussions you held in the past hour with former leaders who called on you?

[Grosz] Yes. The Marxist Unity Platform will announce today at a press briefing that it is disbanding.

[Trebics] And will it be transformed?

[Grosz] It is not transforming, it is disbanding. It will make its further conduct dependent on what kinds of guarantees the party's program—over which the debate now is still going on, as well as the elections—provide, so that this party will be an alliance of committed, leftwing currents, in harmony with its program.

[Trebics] What is your opinion of the fact that many people still maintain the right to belong to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]? Let us say, if they wish to have it registered again?

[Grosz] Please, I consider that to be a natural reflex. Think it over. Very many people are linked to the name Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and they feel—I say this on the basis of personal experience—that the decision reached yesterday has left them in the lurch. They do not dispute the MSZMP's faults, but they believe that this amounts to a complete disavowal of the MSZMP. It is the rsponsibility of the leadership not to act in a fluster, not to confuse people, but to help settle the ideas.

There are enormous forces in this party. There must not be a row over the name in this party. The party must not be broken apart because of the name; but it can happen over the substance. Will it be what all of us think, a socialist party of leftwing drift which groups various currents—and now I go back to a speed today with which I agree to the utmost—a party whose leadership at the same time is homogeneous, and where the differences are not manifested in differences in the leadership? This is the way out which must be headed for. The party members will accept this if it is explained to them. Yet if decisions are made without them and over their heads, while things to the effect of never again are worded in the speeches, they will not follow us.

[Trebics] Do you agree or sympathize with the people who do not consider the current party to be a legal continuation?

[Grosz] I do not agree; I sympathize with them. [end recording]

Nyers Nominated Reform Chairman

LD0810162789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] We now go over to the congress center. Andras Kerekes and Zsolt Bocskai report:

[Reporter] After yesterday's compromise—the formation of a new party—the biggest worry now is how to impede the chameleons who would put their name on it from flocking into the organization. This is how Attila Agh introduced the Reform Alliance's afternoon debate.

There are already formal criteria, but the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members have to make a statement as to whether they accept the statutes of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. However, this is not yet enough. A legal situation must be developed whereby it is possible to sift out those who are not needed in the new party. However, this process must not be a witch hunt. The average members must not be hurt.

[Second reporter] In brief: The signatory who must be cast out of the new party is one whose hands are tainted with blood or money. That is, one who ordered, or participated in, unlawful proceedings, or gained material advantage through abuse of his political influence.

According to Attila Agh's speech, any party member can report someone for misconduct, but the results of the investigation by the party's coordinating committee will only be made public if the guilt of the member reported seems proven.

According to (Laszlo Halat), a delegate from Budapest, the trouble is that the reformers are still only waiting for those who do not belong there to leave their party. The external observer could believe that nothing had happened, only the name had been changed.

He also said that in his opinion, Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz had forfeited the confidence of their followers. He added that they had abandoned them, for at yesterday's vote they had given the impression of unity whereas they should have been representing the interests of just those party members [as heard].

According to Imre Keserue, the reformist members of the HSP had become the captives of party democracy by yesterday having established too wide a framework for the new party. Now, not one party member can say to the other that he does not belong there.

Several people however, pointed out that the compromise which was created yesterday was brought about in the interests of the country. The limit must be drawn somewhere of course. We must know how to distance ourselves, but we must look beyond narrow party interests. Imre Pozsgay noted this in his contribution of roughly 10 minutes. He emphasized that it is truly very important to create an ethical codex, with even perhaps the naming of names of the people from whom the new party is distancing itself. Society also expects this. However, decent people must be allowed to change. There was laughter when he gave the example of what would have happened to the Reformation if Luther had declared that ex-Catholics could not join. At the same time, there can be no kind of compromise at all in connection with the program and the statute, said Imre Pozsgay.

The Reform Alliance, at (Csaba Vass's) proposal decided the platform should continue its work after the congress, on its own, but not independently of the party.

Attila Agh gave an account just a few minutes ago of the Reform Alliance proposal for the members of the Presidium. There are 13 names on the list, and they nominated Rezso Nyers as chairman.

MTI Report on Congress

LD0810174989 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI) [transmission interrupted, MTI take 1 not received] After suspending the debate over the statute, delegates began the general political debate over the [Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP] party's manifesto. The first to take the floor was the representative of the Health to the Nation platform that was organized during the congress. He outlined the almost unbearable situation that has come about by the mid-1980s in health care, and in the state of health of society, and stressed that intervention of social dimensions, which surpasses the framework of health care, is needed to solve the situation.

Ferenc Gazso, representing the Reform Alliance, stressed that the viability, political influence, and election chances of the now founded HSP cannot be taken for granted as yet. In his view, alongside defining the party's manifesto and statute, the leadership to be elected by delegates to head the new party has vital importance. For the party can be viable only if the personalities in its leadership represent a commitment to changing the social system. A homogeneous, reform-minded presidium is needed as many differing currents which exclude each other still operate in the new party and only a unified leadership can hold the party together and safeguard its action capability.

According to Mr Gazso, the new party has still not distanced itself from the policy which "carried this country into the state of total bankruptcy under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party". It also has not distanced itself from those who brought this situation about under the direction of the HSWP. This is one of the tasks of the congress. At the same time, the party's authenticity does not depend on statements, he warned, but on the actions it is capable of taking. As a party that maintains close relations with the government, the HSP should initiate changes in all areas of Hungarian economy and social life which can convince the nation within a short time that a genuinely new party has been born.

On behalf of the young people's platform, Dezso Konez objected that the document does not even mention what the new party intends to do in the interest of the young people, of winning them over. On behalf of the Give the Provinces an Equal Chance platform, Laszlo Lakos spoke of the need to intensify the agrarian and provincial platform, Mrs Ilona Madl appreciated the importance of self-governments in the shaping of the future.

More on Proceedings

LD0810194589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Gyorgyi B. Kiraly and Andras Kerekes report from the Congress Hall:

[Kerekes] The congress will definitely not make a decision on personnel matters today, however the debate on the program statement will be suspended within minutes so that they will be able to finish drawing up the statute today. If there should remain time after this on this working day, then they will continue the debate on the program statement; if the resolution on the statute comes too late—and there is a chance of this happening—then, however, tomorrow.

Personnel questions have, however, interested many people up to now too, delegates and platforms alike.

[Kiraly] Without stealing anyone's thunder, it seems certain that the overwhelming majority of the congress would like to elect Rezso Nyers as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] It would be irresponsible to give any other names, but many contributions dealt with the question of what kind of leadership this party should have—a party which never again wishes to demonstrate false unity, but on the contrary, consciously envisages itself as the alliance of platforms.

[Kerekes] Ferenc Gazso, representing the Reform Alliance, emphasized that the party must be led by a unified, homogenous presidium, committed to reform. It is not a party in which everyone feels happy which is needed, but one which can preserve the socialist perspective of the development of society. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] got the country into complete bankruptcy—one of the tasks of the congress is to distance itself from all those who brought about the situation of bankruptcy as leaders of the party.

[Kerekes] Distancing from something and some people was one of the central themes today. Many people felt that the compromise reached last night was too wide; so it must be narrowed down. Imre Pozsgay and others said, at the Reform Alliance Platform's debate, that relations to the program statement and to the statute should be the determining factor. [passage omitted]

[Kiraly] The other important question which determined the nature of almost the whole day, was the question of the Hungarian countryside. Over 20 delegates emphasized that equality of chances for the countryside must be created, and a situation must be achieved whereby the countryside, which holds 80 percent of society, should not come under, but alongside the capital.

[Kerekes] Several people proposed that county self-management should cease. Henceforth, counties should not have legal authority to take decisions, or power to distribute resources, furthermore, that the program statement should emphasize right from its introduction, the strategic role of self management.

[Kiraly] The question of self management naturally raises the issue that a village or a community should itself have disposition over its own assets. But, how should a run-down, impoverished settlement create assets for itself? asked Csaba Hamori, representing the People's Democratic Platform. He went on to propose that state property, worth 2 billion should be changed into joint stock companies, and the joint stock companies handed over into the hands of local self-managements.

[Kerekes] (Aniko Koebli) and (Dezsoe Koncz), delegates from the Youth Platform, listed the grievances of young people. Both of them said that the experts had somehow left out young people from the new party program statement.

[Kiraly] One of the delegates asked whether the Presidium had any knowledge of other parties having also been formed. Maria Ormos, acting chairman, said that they did know about the news, but not about the parties

[Kerekes] This much is certain: That Karoly Grosz does not wish to be a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, but neither does he want to form a new party. At his impromptu press conference at the same time he stated that he will find the party that is right for him. He declared that the Hungarian Socialist Party, in his view, will probably stay in one piece. It will, however, pay a big price for unity and he personally cannot accept this.

Karoly Grosz also affirmed that he does not want to pursue any kind of leading activity in the future. He does, however, wish to be present in political public life. For him only that leadership is acceptable which gives a guarantee that the Hungarian Socialist Party will function as a left-wing democratic movement.

Janos Berecz also made a statement. He told a HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY reporter: We shall remain in MSZMP. As for who this we is, he did not name them; he merely voiced his hope that the significant proportion of the membership will identify with him in this decision. Many party members do not know that they will not be admitted into the new party, he alleged, although the congress has not yet taken any stance at all in this issue. In other words, it still applies that whoever accepts the party's statute and the basic precepts of its program declaration, and authenticates this with his signature, that person confirms his membership in the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Charter, Statutes Still Debated

LD0810230489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] We begin our detailed reports with a Congress report. Andras Kerekes and Gyorgyi B. Kiraly report:

[Correspondent] The new party still does not have a charter, or basic statutes. The debate on this is still going on now, and the delegates not long ago pledged that they will not stand up until resolution is passed regarding this. Of course, this resolve could change as time passes. What is certain is that the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] wants to maintain the possibility for organizing activity at the workplaces, if this is not banned by law.

During today's work at the Congress, the general debate on the draft program-statement was, in the end, concluded during the evening hours. Tomorrow, this will be brought forth only with [word indistinct] text and with the modification proposals. It was a few minutes after 1930 that they set to work on the debate over the basic statutes, which they had intended to conclude in 1 and ½ to 2 hours.

Regarding the general principles of the party's charter, Gyorgy Fejti, on behalf of the preparatory committee, emphasized that it was necessary to be consistent and firm in certain things. In other matters, flexibility could be allowed. It was necessary to be firm in the application of the voluntary principle, the freedom to organize, the assertion of party democracy, freedom of conscience and the principle of tolerance. A dynamic unity was necessary, in which (?there was space) for differences of view; this would be enabled by the platform alliance. An important basic principle is openness. Nothing can be kept secret to the party membership or to public opinion any more, said Gyorgy Fejti. Leadership control must be introduced, in the form of confidence-votes and no-confidence motions.

Then Peter Kiss, who was in the chair, handed the floor over to Andras Toth who began to outline the basic statutes bit by bit. The original text and the innumerable modification proposals were in front of the delegates. There were parts which it was possible to get through without voting; at other details very fierce debate began.

Every Hungarian and non-Hungarian citizen can be a member of the HSP who is over the age of 17, who accepts the party's program and basic statutes, whose right to this effect is not limited by law, and who is admitted into the ranks of one of the base organizations. The smallest number of members a base organization can have is three. There was quite rapid agreement over these. However, a prolonged and fierce debate began when the part was reached which makes provisions over where and how the base organizations can be formed. The main question, naturally, is whether or not there can be a base organisation at a workplace. Since even at the umpteenth attempt, they were unable to draw up a formula that could be put to vote, a brief recess was called, and then Rezso Nyers stepped to the microphone.

He said that he had spoken with the capitalist manager of a mixed enterprise, according to whom, for all he cared, there could be a base organization in the workplace, since he felt that it would help work and to rally the people together. Rezso Nyers recalled that he, himself, began party work in a factory base organization, in the Horthy regime. Thus, the rights should not be restricted in legal regulations. The Congress's decision should not be more reactionary than what was allowed by the Horthy regime. At the same time, this issue will be sorted out by the National Assembly, through a law, and what it decides must be accepted. In the future, it is mainly in terms of residential organizing activity that we should think, but people who want to say in the factories should be allowed to stay there.

Then, with an overwhelming majority, the version of the text was adopted which makes organizing at the workplaces, as well, possible. One hundred and seven people voted against this, including Gyula Horn, Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay.

It was in the late afternoon that the press conference by the Congress spokesman, Janos Barabas, was held. To the question of where the Congress was taking place, in the session-hall or in the corridors, Janos Barabas replied that if one had already been at the congress of a modern political party, he would know that it takes place not only in the session-hall but behind the scenes. Naturally, certain leaders of the HSP were negotiating on personnel issues, and they were doing so not only in the hall.

It appears that everyone now pursues the reforms where he wants, said one of my fellow-journalists. Where is the calling to account, about which the reformists spoke before the congress? In this regard nothing really happened at the Congress, replied the spokesman. We, at any event, have got as far, he said, as recognizing that it is not party membership which is guilty for making the country bankrupt, but the leading groups. He said that he, too, felt that it was necessary to call people to account by name.

It was also in the late afternoon that Robert Ribanszki, leader of the MSZMP Marxist Unity Platform, held his unofficial press briefing. In his view, the cessation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], and the formation of the MSZMP [as heard], [Ribanszki corrects himself], the formation of the HSP, is an enormous step backwards in the history of the Hungarian communist and social democratic movement. Then, he queried the right of the congress delegates, on the basis of which they represented the 700,000-strong party membership when yesterday's decision was taken. Robert Ribanszki, by the way, asked the MSZMP members not to join the new party.

Another late afternoon event: At the Congress venue, Imre Pozsgay met Mihaly Bihari, political analyst-professor; Sandor Csoori, poet; Laszlo Lengyel, economist-political analyst; and Dr Ivan Sinko, jurist. They exchanged opinions on the formation of the HSP, and on its desired role in the peaceful transition, in national unfolding. Also attending the meeting were Attila Agh, Ferenc Gazso, Ferenc Kosa, and Csaba Tabajdi.

Warsaw 'To Give Every Assistance' to Refugees

LD0610215189 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 6 Oct 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Waldemar Janiec]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—At today's press conference government spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska focused on problems related to GDR refugees.

The spokesman presented a report by the command of the Polish frontier guards saying that no GDR citizen with valid travel documents had been halted at Polish border crossings. However, 407 persons who had attempted to illegally cross the border had been stopped and sent back to the GDR.

We have also been informed that GDR frontier guards have been halting at the GDR territory citizens trying to leave that country.

"On its part Poland tries to give every assistance to GDR citizens who have found themselves on the Polish territory. If any irregularities or misunderstandings occur in this respect, we will be explaining and eliminating them." Niezabitowska said.

The spokesman also referred to her statement made at the previous press conference to the effect that Premier Shamir, charging Poles with anti-semitism, offended the Polish people.

"The Polish Government did not officially respond to this statement as it regarded it as private and not one made by the Israeli Government," she said. "Nevertheless, many Polish ministers privately shared my personal view presented at the previous conference," Niezabitowska stated.

Speaking about the expected visit to Poland by Helmut Kohl, the spokesman told newsmen that yesterday the FRG side had proposed the date of Nov. 10. "The Polish side has been analysing the proposal," she said.

In reply to the question on the purchase of Lancia cars by the previous government team, which has been bothering public opinion in Poland, Niezabitowska said that the contract had been negotiated in such a way that it excludes the use of these cars for other purposes than as cars used by government members for official purposes.

"It is an unwanted legacy from predecessors and many ministers refused to use these cars," the spokesman said and added that the very contract was secret, which made it impossible to present its content to society.

Niezabitowska said that the date of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow had not been fixed yet.

DPA Reports on GDR Refugee Situation

Refugee Numbers Increasing

LD0810105189 Hamburg DPA in German 0953 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Munich-Hamburg (DPA)—The exodus of refugees from the GDR through Austria and Hungary has again risen sharply over the weekend. [passage omitted]

The number of refugees in the embassies is also increasing: Up to today around 300 GDR refugees have put themselves into the care of Bonn's Embassy in Warsaw. They are being accommodated in vacation resorts outside the city. GDR refugees are also arriving at Bonn's Embassy in Prague. It was said today that there are around 30 GDR citizens there at the moment. [passage omitted]

400 Refugees in Warsaw Embassy

LD0810182189 Hamburg DPA in German 1804 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The influx of refugees from the GDR seeking refuge in the FRG Embassy in Warsaw continued also on Sunday. Since the last exodus on Thursday evening, some 400 GDR citizens have again placed themselves under the protection of the Bonn mission. The new arrivals are being accommodated in vacation resorts outside Warsaw. They are being looked after by the Polish and German Red Cross and the Catholic Caritas.

There is an increasing number of cases in which refugees swim across the Neisse or Oder rivers. Refugees reported that the border to Poland is being made increasingly more difficult to cross. In some places where so far the river could still be crossed on foot, the Neisse has been excavated. Others said that planks with nails were lying at the bottom of the river. Refugees were arrested inside the border tract also on the Polish side by Polish border police and handed over to the GDR border authorities because of illegal border crossing.

Border 'Increasingly Impenetrable'

LD1010103189 Hamburg DPA in German 1004 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The stream of GDR refugees making for the Federal Republic's embassy in Warsaw appeared to slow down a little on Tuesday. During the night and in the early hours of this morning about 30 people turned up, but later on only the odd refugee. They reported that the frontier to Poland is being made increasingly impenetrable. Near Zittau a fence was now being erected. Even so there were still a few who managed to swim across the Neisse or Oder.

It is apparently also becoming increasingly difficult to obtain an exit document for Poland. Travellers arriving by night-train from Berlin reported that many young GDR citizens had been taken from the train by GDR security officials before the frontier. It is estimated that there are at present well over 500 GDR refugees in Warsaw. They have been accommodated in vacation resorts outside the city. [passage omitted]

Krakow Demonstration at GDR Cultural Center

LD0610144189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2142 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] In Krakow, the Freedom and Peace Movement and German-Polish Solidarity organized a demonstration in the Market Square. The demonstrators went to the GDR Cultural Center, in the doorway of which a symbolic stone wall was built. [video shows wall, people carrying banners saying: "Solidarity with New Forum"]

Leaders Mark GDR 40th Anniversary

Rakowski Sends Greetings

LD0610194989 Warsaw PAP in English 1623 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski sent a congratulatory cable to general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] CC and chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker to mark the 40th anniversary of setting up the German Democratic Republic.

Rakowski conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes and voiced a conviction that cooperation between the PUWP and the SED—matching the requirements of contemporary times—will continue to deepen and strengthen in the interests of both parties and peoples, to the benefit of the cause of socialism and progress.

President, Premier Cable Leaders

LD0610195289 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—President of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker to mark the national day, the 40th anniversary of setting up the German Democratic Republic, to be observed tomorrow.

On the same occasion, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a congratulatory cable to chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Willi Stoph.

The cables stress that the German Democratic Republic occupies a proper and lasting position in the international community, bringing contribution to consolidating security in Europe and to building a peaceful European house.

The cables also voice a conviction that relations of friendship between both states correspond to the most vital interests of Poland and the GDR and that the changes now taking place will make it possible to also make real progress in societies of both countries getting acquainted with each other and establishing genuine ties between them.

The cables also stress that the Zgorzelec historic treaty, recognizing the Polish-German border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers as final and inviolable, is the basis of relations between Poland and the GDR.

President Jaruzelski, Gorbachev Meet in Berlin

LD0710232989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] After returning to Warsaw in the late evening hours after attending ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR, President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in a statement granted journalists that he had held a series of talks in Berlin. Particularly important, said the president, was a talk with Mikhail Gorbachev. It was characterized by full mutual understanding, understanding for our Polish situation, for the processes that are taking place in our country, and the desire to support them everywhere where possible.

Justice Ministry To Look Into Stalinist Crimes

LD0310232889 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The press spokesman for the Justice Ministry sent to PAP the following communique signed by Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski:

"The public opinion in Poland demands that crimes of the Stalinist period be revealed, their perpetrators prosecuted and victims compensated for material and moral losses. These are the requirements of the law, the sense of justice and the principle of non-limitation of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"In order to collect relevant evidence of this period's crimes it is necessary to record them, find out their perpetrators and estimate injustice. I would like to inform you that I am going to entrust the Institute of National Remembrance at the Justice Ministry with this important task.

"In this connection I appeal to citizens, institutions and social organizations to send relevant records to the Justice Ministry to make it possible to start investigations and other activities aimed at prosecuting Stalinist crimes. [quotation marks as received]

Central Committee Summons PZPR Congress

AU0610150289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 1

[Resolution adopted by the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 3 October 1989: "Resolution Summoning the 11th PZPR Congress"]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee has resolved:

—To summon the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress on 27 January 1990;

—That the Congress should be preceded by a discussion on the future of socialism in Poland, the party model, and the party's programmatic aims. The discussion is to be organized along the lines of the proposals worked out by the Central Congress Commission, as well as on the basis of other political, ideological and organizational platforms and programmatic conceptions, submitted by party clubs and intercommunity agreements.

2. The Central Committee calls upon the Central Congress Commission to draw on the results of the current discussions which have been summarized by the Central Committee Party Work and Ideological Commissions, as well as the results of the all-party opinion poll, and prepare the following by the end of October:

—The statutory framework for the party model;

—A declaration of the party's ideological and programmatic position;

—The principles for the election of delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress.

3. Congress delegates must be elected by the 20 December 1989, in line with the new principles that will enable their direct election by the party membership and give active and passive voting rights to party candidate members.

PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 3 October 1989.

PZPR's Rakowski Calls for Party Offensive

AU0610102089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 1

[Anna Pawlowska report on statement by PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski for TRYBUNA LUDU: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski for TRYBUNA LUDU"]

[Text] We have now entered the final preparation phase for the 11th PZPR Congress. It is a sign of optimism that there has been such a rapid intellectual revitalization. We talked about this many times in the past saying that such revitalization would bode well for the upcoming congress. This was clearly evident from today's discussions.

This point is terribly important. I wish to stress that this current is noticeable both in the more academic pronouncements designed to stimulate theoretical reflection and in the more "down to earth approaches" that are more strictly linked to the concrete reality.

It is also important that there are voices calling for going onto the offensive against the present reality, and attacking the most important spheres of our political and economic life.

Such an attitude of mind is desperately needed by the party and is absolutely essential. It can and should protect us from the serious danger of being totally swamped by our internal party matters before the congress. We must not allow this to happen.

The precongress campaign will not take place in a social void. Broad circles of our compatriots, and above all, the working people, should rediscover elements within the party that echo their own very heavy feelings in today's world.

It would be best if we could succeed at least in some matters, and point to the reality that lies at the source of these emotions. We have to take a determined party stand which will be readily understood by the people.

Miller Addresses 15th Party Plenum 3 Oct

AU0610142689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 3

[Speech by Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member, at the second part of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 3 October: "This Will Not Be Just Another Party Congress. This Will Be The End of an Era"]

[Text] In the first part of the 15th Plenum, the Central Committee decided to conduct an opinion poll among members and candidate members of our party on how the delegates to the 11th Congress should be elected, how the debates ought to be held, whether the party program ought to be changed, how the congress should be organized, and whether the party's name should change. My task is to present the Central Committee with the results of this poll and the conclusions provided by it.

Party organizations and committees have discharged the tasks that they were set. The party aktivs and apparatus, which conducted the poll efficiently and in accordance with the rules, have confirmed their abilities. The results of the poll were processed by social committees at primary and voivodship level. The Politburo has acquainted itself with the results and issued an appropriate communique.

The fact that the poll was conducted in such a short space of time shows that the party is capable of mobilization and that in the new political conditions, large numbers of party members are keen to transform the party to suit the times ahead. The poll revitalized many party organizations. It stimulated many of them to hold meetings after a long break.

The poll possessed a universal, all-party nature. It involved 1,114,000 people, which means that somewhat over half of all party members and candidate members responded to it. It was held in every voivodship and in party organizations in the army and abroad. Two-thirds of the party primary organizations held debates on the subject of the questions. The percentage of party members who responded varied from 67.9 percent and 64.7 percent of all party members in Sieradz and Radom Voivodships respectively, right down to 37.5 percent in Katowice Voivodship. The answers were mainly given at meetings of primary party organizations, but also at other meetings of all kinds. In some milieus, party members were polled individually. Others mailed or telephoned their answers to their local party committee. Many workers participated in the poll. In large conurbations, the percentage of workers out of all participating party members was as much as 75 percent. Intelligentsia circles also displayed energy. Some 60 percent of respondents were from the intelligentsia. Participation by the rural population was poorer. This is understandable in view of the heavy work in the fields.

The poll was an opportunity for further thought and talk about the party's place and role in the new conditions. Party members considered what to do today, what to fight for in order to preserve and consolidate the socialist achievements of working people, and what kind of party we are to have after the 11th Congress. In many cases, the poll was treated as an opportunity to sum up previous debates inside the party. Apart from praise for the poll, there was also criticism of the very idea of holding this poll and of the contents of its questions. Some members expressed doubts in the expediency of the poll. They said the poll was just a delaying tactic, meant to postpone the congress. There were also a few cases where entire party organizations refused to take part, for example the primary party organizations in the Polish Insurance Institute in Wroclaw, the Economics Academy in Wroiclaw, the Teacher Training College, and the Voivodship Court. However, these were rare occurrences.

The results of the poll should be considered not only a reply to specific questions, but also a vote in favor of a profound transformation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], in favor of the kind of party in which its members and the primary party organizations have the final say. It is they who should decide what kind of party it should be, what it should involve itself with, what it should identify itself with, and what it should fight against. Therefore one can say that the poll was an important step on the road to the PZPR's transformation and a further democratization of its internal life.

In accordance with the Central Committee's intentions, the replies to the all-party poll are important for the nature of the 11th congress and the preparations for it. Some 80.5 percent of the respondents, in other words over 897,000 party members and candidate members, spoke out in favor of changes to the election rules permitting an expansion of the possibility of directly electing congress delegates. The direct election of delegates is considered to be a further step in the process of establishing the supremacy of party members. The rank and file will determine the composition of the 11th Congress, in other words who on behalf of the party will decide on the party's future.

The replies to the first question permit the Central Committee to suspend the hitherto election rules and adopt new principles of nominating and appointing delegates to the 11th Congress. Several suggestions have cropped up in the debates on this subject so far. The most far-reaching one calls for a direct, universal election of all congress delegates by all party members. Voting districts would consist of several primary party bodies. The party would be divided into voting districts, each of which would cover one or several townships [gminy] and the equivalent party organizations. Several delegates would be chosen in each voting district. Another suggestion calls for the election of congress delegates only by the first secretaries of primary and district party organizations. These first secretaries would form district or voivodship election teams, which would select delegates to the congress on the basis of assessments made of them. Yet another suggestion calls for the selection of congress delegates at party conventions. This would be indirect election. In such a case, it would first of all be necessary to appoint electors out of primary party bodies and cells to attend these conventions. There are also numerous suggestions that some delegates should be chosen directly, and some by these party conventions. Discussion clubs have put forth the idea of voting for programmatic platforms. This would be proportional election. Mandates would be distributed according to the number of votes received for each platform. The Politburo suggests that the Central Congress Commission consider all these proposals and prepare a draft of changes to the election rules, which the Central Committee would then approve.

In answer to the second question, 76.9 percent of the poll participants, in other words 857,000 people, spoke out in favor of granting party candidate members active and passive voting rights before the 11th congress. This question raised many doubts. I wish to explain that the purpose of this question is to permit the 150,000 candidate members full participation in the congress preparations. This is the youngest section of our party. The response to this question permits the Central Committee to adopt solutions permitting candidate members to stand and be elected as congress delegates. This also signifies a provisional acceptance of the far-reaching idea of altering the formula of party membership, in other words dispensing with the present two-tier structure of membership.

The third question concerned the possibility for various unofficial party platforms and programs, internal party initiatives, and lateral links between party cells and bodies to take part in the congress preparations. Almost 84 percent of respondents, over 936,000 people, spoke out in favor of this idea. A series of milieus in many voivodships are discussing the programmatic and organizational shape of the Polish party of the left. Intellectuals belonging to the 8 July Initiative are discussing this topic, as are workers in Warsaw factories. In Poznan, there is a congress committee consisting of representatives of several colleges there, and it is discussing this subject. The Cegielski Plant in Poznan is holding a series of meetings organized by the factory PZPR Committee, under the slogan "precongress debate." Similar initiatives can be seen in many other centers. In Krakow, party organizations in educational establishments have merged into a confederation for the purposes of the congress. In Gdansk, there is an Association of the

Democratic Left. In Lodz, there is a Political Discussion Club called "Jawnosc" ["Openness"]. In Kielce there is a Political Thought Club called "Socjaldemokracja" ["Social Democracy"]. In Kaowice there is an assembly for the sake of social progress. Discussion clubs are also emerging in smaller localities—Bystrzyca, Gostyn, Radzyn, Jedzrejow, and many other places.

Many interesting observations are contained in letters sent to the Central Committee, material distributed by party structures, and articles in the press. What is emerging today inside youth organizations, associations, and groupings of the so-called unofficial left wing—this also being the result of dissatisfaction with our past methods of action—should be used as a platform for uninhibited debate. Each of these initiatives is equal before the law, and possesses equal value. Each of them must have an equal opportunity to present its views and assessments. Each of them is as desirable as the next one. The columns of the press should be made more accessible to them. There should be a weekly TRYBUNA LUDU congress supplement, in which these initiatives would be presented. Thus, each of them should be subjected to assessment by our party.

Of course, not every initiative will defend itself. There is no shortage of extremist views, as well as conservative and defeatist ones. Some of these groups think that they alone are right. However, all the sentiments, naiveness, delusions, and criticism are dominated by a platform of thought that is in favor of resolving the basic dilemmas and challenges of today. But seldom do publicized concepts adopt the form of programmatic platforms. Usually, they are just isolated stances on selected issues.

In these searches, two different ways of thinking have established themselves. For some, "left wing" primarily means fair distribution, without attaching greater importance to ownership of the factors of production and management over them. For others, it is the production sphere that is important. These people underline the importance of social ownership of the factors of production and workers self-management. They indicate that this is the basis of materializing the values of socialism. These differences involve more than just placing the emphasis on different things. However, when establishing a middle way between these two thoughts, one should consider the calls for equality for all economic sectors, for changes in the proportions between them, and for a simultaneous genuine socialization of the state and cooperative sectors. As far as the political system is concerned, approval for parliamentary democracy, in other words for political pluralism and a multiparty system, prevails.

Finally, one detects thoughts about the party itself, thoughts that suit genuine needs. Party members have said that the party should be a forum in which programmatic thought is created, a forum which suits the interests of its social base, at the same time as which the party should be an organization that functions efficiently, is capable of employing instruments and resources that are typical of politics, and struggles for political representation in state and self-government bodies wherever authorities are chosen by means of elections. The basis of the party's internal ties ought to be provided by a communion of values and a readiness to defend and implement them.

In this necessarily brief description of the currents of thought that dominate the various stances and platforms that have been presented so far, we find substance which has been contained in our party's documents for a long time, especially the 10th Plenum resolution. This is a sign that we are proceeding in the right direction together.

The last question of the poll asked about the party's future. This question caused the greatest controversy, for it applies to each one of us, and reaches deep into our partyhood, the political elections of the past, and present attitudes and expectations connected with the future.

The fate of Poland and that of the left wing that is closely associated with Poland is causing justifiable concern, especially in the light of the increasing right wing offensive. No wonder that over 25 percent of the respondents adopted a cautious attitude and did not speak out in favor of radical changes. Can one wonder at such an attitude? Not really, because most of this 25 percent expressed in this way their fear for our party's unity and its future identity, and their fear of taking the wrong step.

The overwhelming majority, over 71 percent, in other words over 803,000 respondents, think we are faced with the need for a profound transformation of the party of the Polish left. This has nothing to do with erasing the achievements of the PZPR as a guarantor of national interests, promoter of the advancement of the plebeian masses, and organizer of the country's fundamental restructuring. However, the party formula to date has outlived its purpose, and cannot suit the new conditions.

In internal party discussions and opinions voiced during the opinion poll, there is an increasing demand that ideals and objectives be formulated from scratch, so that they may encourage social support for organized forces of the left. The intention behind this is to have a party that gathers those who support democracy, self-government, social justice, and equal opportunities; and oppose the exploitation of workers, rule by elites, the sale of Poland to foreign capital, and the restoration of 19th century capitalism. The results of the poll confirm that such a party cannot be achieved by merely preserving the PZPR in its present form, but neither can it be achieved by means of the PZPR's self-destruction and by building a new party on top of the ruins. Such a course would be nothing other than adventurism and political recklessness. At the same time, we must verify our ideological and intellectual achievements. We must remain with Marxism as a method of interpreting the signs of the times, check its theses, and reject any of these theses that are no longer of use, hamper development, and restrict intellectual and political searches. We should reach further for the achievements of the Polish left wing thought and to the ideas of Polish socialists, communists, and radical democrats. In a nutshell, we must rid ourselves of the intellectual, historic, and political heritage that leads us astray, but retain that part of the heritage that suits today's times and permits dialogue with the world's left wing and the forces of progress that are inherent in various milieus of our society.

Against this background, we shall make further decisions. So whose party is it to be? A party of workers, who may find us a more effective spokesman of working people's aspirations and interests now that we are no longer a state party; a party of intellectuals, who view the reform as a chance to find their rightful place in the social hierarchy; a party of farmers, who view rural problems in the broader light of national problems; and a party of young people, who have no resources for private undertakings but who see a chance for themselves in the country's social advancement. We should see to it that other social groups also gather around us, people attracted by the slogans of progress and development voiced by the left wing.

The list of political and economic concepts on which there is consensus is exhaustive, but no less exhaustive is the list of differences and thorny problems, especially on the subject of doctrine and programmatic thinking. The need to reinterpret Marxism, which I have already mentioned, and seek other intellectual ways of discovering the world means a departure from hitherto ideological practice. And what about our traditions? A reassessment of views on this subject is causing not only many intellectual disputes, but emotional tension as well. The new party stances on the subject of the party's social base, the party's attitude to private ownership, its attitude to democratic centralism, the status of primary party organizations in factories, and other internal party matters, are causing emotion. Although these new stances are essential, they are nevertheless a departure from previous ways of thinking.

All these differences and the party debates that accompany them are quite natural, especially today when a momentous breakthrough is occurring, a major revision of our ideological principles and political course. However, this is a dangerous situation. It may cause trends toward splitting the party. Today, when alternative forces to the PZPR are gaining strength, such a split would surely push onto the sidelines the parties that emerge in the PZPR's place, and force these parties out of the political arena.

Thus, the road to a new party is a difficult one. It brushes the edge of social credibility, and involves the risk of collapse due to individual and collective egoism. Nevertheless, it is a road that has to be taken. Perhaps not everyone will want to take it—these are costs which we have to consider and minimize, so that there is room in the transformed party for people who are of various shades of red, but who are open to reality and to the challenges of today. We need the kind of feeling of responsibility that will permit today's differences of opinion to turn into the most suitable and most socially significant programmatic proposal for the 11th Congress. We should proceed toward the 11th Congress as a single party, but at the same time we must form inside the party the kind of mechanisms of action that will accommodate various programmatic options.

In the first half of the 15th Plenum, we adopted a resolution on the principles and ways of appointing the Central Congress Commission. Today we are submitting for approval a list of members of this Commission. The list was established in a democratic manner. Voivodship groups of members of the Central Committee and Central Party Auditing and Control Commission; voivodship congress commissions; discussion clubs; various intercommunity agreements; primary party organizations, including those in party newspapers; the central boards of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, Polish Students Union, and Rural Youth Union—all of these bodies nominated their own candidates for the Commission. Thus, the commission consists of representatives of the trade unions, the Polish Scouts Association, the Polish left wing, various educational establishments, and Central Committee departments. The Politburo believes that the open nature of the Central Congress Commission should be preserved throughout its tenure. We propose to give the Commission the power to make changes in its composition and invite people to join it from various party communities that become active as the date of the congress approaches and present their own program. The Politburo also suggests that, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the first half of the plenum, the as yet unfilled seats of PZPR deputies in this Commission be kept vacant until the PZPR Deputies Club has made a decision on this matter.

The results of the poll and the selection of these solutions and not others reveals the reformist countenance of the PZPR. It has overthrown the thesis about a conservative rank and file and reformist central leadership, or vice versa.

It is the Central Committee that put forth to the rank and file the idea of thorough transformations, and it is the rank and file that said that it wants these transformations. A rich precongress campaign is in store for us, all the more difficult because the country's situation is causing increasing social tension, to which we cannot remain aloof. We cannot make the serious mistake of being interested only in our party affairs. Therefore, one cannot conduct a congress campaign against reality.

The campaign will only have succeeded if we come to the congress as a party that creates facts, possesses a real analysis of the situation and real social program, and is capable of effective action—a party whose ranks of aktivs have increased with the addition of new members, some of whom are still adhering to a wait-and-see attitude or pursuing their political objectives outside the official party structures.

Therefore, the point is first, to include the entire party in the precongress work, not just the intellectual aktivs and elites; and second, to conduct the campaign in such a way that the congress is not just an event in the life of the party, but also a way for broad sections of society to understand and support our leftwing socialist political thinking. For there is in Poland a genuine social need for a modern left-wing party that possesses an attractive program and is efficient in action. The problem is whether we are capable of becoming a party that conforms to the aspirations of that part of society. One thing is certain. If we do not satisfy that need, someone else will.

Primary party organizations, community meetings, and discussion clubs should be the place for broad precongress discussion. We are counting on the energy of voivodship congress commissions, Central Committee commissions, and teams of experts.

The PZPR Deputies Club's participation in the congress campaign is very important. As the first months of its activity have shown, the Club is the joint creator of party policies. That is why it is important for it to take active part in the congress preparations. One should welcome the news that the Club has decided to present its own programmatic platform. We see a major role for the mass media, especially the national and regional party press, in the discussions.

We invite all extraparty groupings of the Polish left wing to present their own visions of the party. In particular, we extend such an offer to youth communities who have been upset, and still are upset, by our superficiality, lack of spontaneity, and lack of effective action, and who would like to find a place in our party so that they can serve society. Today we no longer say: Come to us. Today we say: Form a party with us; make yourselves at home in this party, because it is up to all of us what this party will be like.

We are fully open to the most humanitarian and progressive values, to the most modern and efficient political and economic solutions which serve the implementation of these values. Of the main forces on the Polish political scene undergoing reform, we are the one that is undergoing the most thorough reorientation and the one that is the most ready to absorb attractive social ideals.

We are also an organization that possesses a considerable social and technical base. Thus, the new socialist party is setting off toward political competition not as a pauper, but as a rich organization capable of conducting wide-scale political activity. All the assets of the PZPR are at the disposal of the entire left wing and of everyone who is in favor of socialism, those who are already in the party and those who will join it later.

Now it is time to present the details about holding the 11th Congress. If today the Central Committee adopts the resolution about holding the congress, approves the composition of the Congress Commission, and makes other appropriate decisions, that will be the start. What comes next? In the space of 4 days, it is necessary to prepare the first meeting of the Central Congress Commission, so that it can hold this meeting next Monday, 9 October, and determine how it is going to carry out its task. The Commission could be divided into several problem teams. One of them, a statutory-organizational team, would prepare a draft statute and take care of some organizational matters concerning the congress. Another team, the programmatic team, would prepare draft party programs, ideological-programmatic declarations, and other documents to be adopted by the Congress. The members of the Commission should say which teams they are going to work in, and then, still on Monday, these teams should hold their first meetings and appoint their chairmen and secretaries and decide what to do next.

At this meeting, all members of the Commission would receive the following documents, prepared by the Central Committee Party Work Commission and Ideological Commission: Summaries of the debate on party transformations so far; the results of the party opinion poll, the documents of the 15th plenum, and different versions of rules for electing delegates to the 11th congress.

After that, over the following 3 weeks, the Congress Commission teams will have to prepare the drafts of the following documents: an ideological-programmatic declaration; the principles behind a statutory model of the party; and a final version of rules for electing delegates to the 11th Congress.

On Saturday, 28 October, the Central Congress Commission should hold its second plenary meeting and discuss the above-named documents, after which they can be presented before the Central Committee.

After that, on Monday, 6 November, the Central Committee could hold a plenum, adopt these documents, and submit them to precongress debate. I have in mind here the programmatic theses, statutory theses, and final rules for electing congress delegates.

Next, the actual congress campaign should take place over the following 6 weeks, until 20 December. During this time the following activity would have to be undertaken:

—A general debate inside every primary party organization on the subject of the programmatic and statutory theses;

—Discussions, seminars, and conferences among various communities, for example party trade unionists, people's councilors, self-management aktivists, and leadership cadres;

—Intensive work by voivodship congress commissions, Central Congress Commission teams, and Central Committee commissions;

—The announcement and publication of various programmatic platforms apart from the Central Committee platform, and extraparty platforms;

—The nomination of congress delegates, involving an entire organizational superstructure—election bodies, ballot papers, record sheets, and so on;

—Election campaigns held by candidates, whereby one should expect many of our aktivs to be involved in this;

—The final election of congress delegates.

All this activity, which will certainly not be devoid of emotion and controversy, will have to be analyzed continuously by the teams of the Central Congress Commission, so that, at its 28 December plenary session, the Commission may adopt the final ideological-programmatic declaration and party statute.

Next, on 6 January next year, the Central Committee might hold a plenum, adopt these documents, and submit them to the 11th Congress delegates. This plenum would also have to decide on the nature of the congress and approve an agenda.

This will mark the final stage of the precongress campaign. It will be necessary to hold consultations on these documents among primary party organizations, hold meetings with delegates, and discuss the Congress organization.

At the same time, candidates for the central authorities should be nominated, and perhaps elected as well, for there have been proposals to this effect. This activity requires about 3 weeks. Therefore, the 11th PZPR Congress would start on 27 January.

What I have presented is merely one proposal. The Politburo declares that, taking into account all the work that has to be done, the schedule I have presented is the shortest one possible. It is a very tight schedule, requiring maximum discipline and organizational efficiency. But it is possible to implement. The Politburo suggests that other dates for the congress also be considered, in other words, 10 February. For both dates, the type and quantity of work is exactly the same. One can shorten it or extend it, that is all. We realize that we are going to prepare the congress under flexible conditions, in an economic and political sense. The development of the political and economic situation contains many unknown quantities. This will certainly have an impact on the climate surrounding the congress preparations. One more remark: The 11th Congress will be different from previous ones. It is not just another party congress. It is the end of a certain era. This places extra responsibility on the party and on all generations of people who have hitherto not been connected with it.

Miller, Wiatr Hold Press Conference After Plenum

AU0610205489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 6

['waj'-signed report on press conference given by Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; and Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary: "There Is No Conflict Over the Future—Press Conference After the 15th Plenum"—at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 October]

[Text] [Question] Was the Romanian proposal discussed?

[Miller] There was only the question: "How was it possible for GAZETA WYBORCZA to publish the text of the Romanian proposal, and the Politburo's subsequent reply?" The Central Committee, however, does not mind that such a popular paper published those texts.

[Question] But how could it have happened that those texts were published?

[Miller] I was on holiday at the time.

There followed a whole series of questions on the plenum debate.

[Miller] I have not attended such an interesting discussion for a very long time. Many people invited from various groupings and representing different platforms participated in the discussion.

[Wiatr] A good discussion is one which transforms itself into political realities, and this discussion was undoubtedly such a discussion. The issue of lateral structures ceased to be a myth and emerged as a direction toward profound reappraisals.

[Miller] We are of the opinion that the danger does not lie in an excess of opinions, but in their shortage.

[Question] With whom would the party like to ally itself?

[Wiatr] Lech Walesa showed us all how alliances can be forged. We are also pragmatic and always open to the possibility of forming tactical alliances.

[Miller] We do not exclude the possibility of an alliance with that section of the "Solidarity" movement which also holds dear the values of the left.

There followed several questions on the assessment of the past.

[Wiatr] It is impossible to talk about the past without looking at past realities. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that our party was the first party to decide to take such decisions at the first historical opportunity that presented itself. I would bear that in mind when looking toward the future.

[Miller] There is no conflict over the future. All conflicts are therefore bound to be concentrated on the past, and we hope this is done fairly.

[Wiatr] The party has always had reformers and has always had its reforming wing. The present government contains more people who were once in the PZPR, than it has current party members.

[Question] Does the vacancy left by Secretary Swiecicki mean that the party is no longer interested in economic matters?

[Miller] As has been the case up till now, absolutely not. There is, however, a Central Committee commission led by Comrade Baka and at today's plenum this commission received important tasks.

[Question] Will party member W. Jaruzelski also be contributing to the preparations for the party congress?

[Miller] The first secretary of the Central Committee has been informed that General Jaruzelski has expressed his willingness to participate in the conceptional work.

Politburo Publishes Party Poll Results

AU0610172589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 5

["PZPR Central Committee Politburo Communique on the Results of the All-Party Opinion Poll on the Preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress"]

[Text] Between 19 and 27 September 1989, and pursuant to the resolution of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] adopted during the first part of the 15th Central Committee Plenum, an all-party poll was carried out on the nature of the preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress. Some 1,114,551 party members and candidates for party membership that is to say, 50.59 percent, took part in the poll.

The replies to the individual questions asked in the poll were as follows:

Question 1.

There are calls in the party for a profound democratization of the principles governing the election of delegates to the 11th congress. Are you, comrade, in favor of:

a) changes in the electoral regulations that would markedly increase the possibility of directly electing delegates to the 11th congress;

b) elections being held in accordance with current regulations, that is, by the primary party organizations and by conferences at higher levels.

—897,240 people, that is, 80.5 percent of those polled, chose alternative "A."

—197,703 people, that is, 17.7 percent of those polled, chose alternative "B".

Question 2.

Suggestions have been made that PZPR candidate members should be granted active and passive voting rights before the 11th Congress. Are you, comrade, in favor of this?

a) yes;

b) no.

—857,522 people, that is, 76.9 percent of those polled, chose alternative "A".

—234,781 people, that is, 21.1 percent of those polled, chose alternative "B."

Question 3.

Various party and nonparty political currents and associations are emerging that support a socialist, democratic system in Poland. They are putting forward programmatic proposals and concepts of preparations for and the course of the 11th congress. Comrade, are you in favor of creating conditions for the conduct of debate preceding the 11th Congress on the basis of competing programmatic, ideological, and organizational and political platforms put forward by party organizations and communities, as well as nonparty left-wing groupings?

a) yes;

b) no.

—936,322 people, that is, 84 percent of those polled, chose alternative "A."

—155,358 people, that is, 13.9 percent of those polled chose alternative "B."

Question 4.

Various proposals are being formulated concerning profound changes in the program, methods of operation, and the name of the PZPR. There are also suggestions to the effect that the present name and character of the party should be retained. In what directions do you think that the preparations for the 11th Congress being conducted by the Central Congress Commission should head?

a) the introduction of changes in the program and statute of the PZPR while retaining the party's name;

b) the transformation of the PZPR into a new party with a new program, statute and name.

—279,639 people, that is, 25.1 percent of those polled, chose alternative "A."

—803,069 people, that is, 72.1 percent of those polled, chose alternative "B."

Hall Statement on Party Presence in Enterprises

LD0610214989 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6: Minister, Member of the Council of Ministers Aleksander Hall sent to PAP the following statement: "Letters sent to the premier and government members indicate that tensions have emerged in some enterprises over the existence and functioning of factory committees of the Polish United Workers' Party.

"In this connection I voice concern over the possibility of further aggravation of conflicts. Stating that no political party may pretend to play the role of an actual centre of power in an enterprise, I would like to express the view that the settlement of the issue of the presence or absence of political parties in enterprises should be reached by means of legal solutions. The work on such draft solutions has already been started and will be discussed by the Sejm.

"The ongoing transformations in this country need peace and moderation, therefore I appeal to the parties to the conflict not to undertake activities which may contribute to aggravating tensions and further complicating the situation that is not easy already now".

Kuron Stresses Need for Price Equilibrium

LD0410114389 Warsaw PAP in English 2314 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 3—During the first weekly meeting with TV viewers tonight, Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron focused on prices.

While speaking about the ways to combat inflation, Kuron said that one of them would be to freeze prices and introduce food coupons. This however would be a step backward, a return to the solutions discredited in the recent past. It is also possible to model the growth of wages in such a way that they would not run ahead of price hikes. This is the idea behind the indexation programme. This, however, is not enough, Kuron said.

The government do not raise prices, the government only do not arrest them. The government let them reach the equilibrium, so that it would be possible to start producing, getting rich, moving towards prosperity. There is no other way out but through the prices of equilibrium. We have to get through it. We have to move forward through hardships but to do it in such a way as not to further deteriorate the situation of the worst-off, to protect people against poverty, Kuron said.

The government will soon be able to answer in a concrete way when the movement of prices is going to stop, when the production is going to increase, effective wages to grow, standard of living to improve, the minster said.

"We all have to be aware that this is our common road and there is no other way. We have to pass it together and together suffer the burden," Jacek Kuron said.

Sejm Debates on Militia, Security, Katyn

AU0510085789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 89 pp 1,4

[PAP report: "Deputies Motions, Government Explanations"]

[Excerpts] The second day of the Sejm session, 30 August, was devoted exclusively to deputies motions. The replies given by members of the government did not always satisfy the deputies, as a result of which a lively debate took place on many issues. [passage omitted]

The Oath of Security Service [SB] and Citizens Militia [MO] Officers

First, the Sejm considered a motion from Deputy Bohdan Kopczynski (Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]) addressed to the interior and national defense ministers concerning the contents of the oath taken by SB and MO functionaries, and concerning the Motorized Units of the Civic Militia [ZOMO]. Deputy Kopczynski, who delivered a speech from the Sejm floor on this subject because he was not satisfied with the written explanations he had received from both the relevant ministries, said that a restructuring of the Interior Ministry apparatus forms the very backbone of the conversion of our system from a totalitarian to a democratic one. The 29 May 1989 law amending some of the provisions of the penal code and misdemeanor code deleted the phrase "faithful to the program of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]" from the oath taken by SB and MO officers.

Therefore, said Deputy Kopczynski, a new legal situation has arisen in which the principle of faithfulness to the PZPR is no longer applicable. In practice, each officer working under the Interior Ministry should be asked whether he agrees to the abolition of this phrase.

As for ZOMO, Deputy Kopczynski said that the introduction of the rule several months after the December 1971 events whereby a proportion of men scheduled to undergo their compulsory military service are drafted to ZOMO instead of the regular army contravenes Article 92, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, which says that military service is the supreme patriotic duty of citizens of the Polish People's Republic.

Cadre shortages in the Interior Ministry cannot be used as an excuse for this practice. In any case, these are only apparent shortages. The latest report on the dissolution of ZOMO present nothing but a change of "clothing" for ZOMO; it says that ZOMO will henceforth perform a preventive role. In the deputy' opinion, the formation of ZOMO in the first place is still illegal.

Replying to this motion, Zbigniew Pudysz, vice minister of internal affairs, said that both issues involve an interpretation of the law. The contents of the SB and MO oath are laid down in the 29 May 1989 law. Officers who entered these services after this law had taken effect take the oath with the new text. The law cannot be retroactive, therefore those officers who entered service earlier cannot retake the oath. The law contains no transitional rules which would require the Interior Ministry to readminister the oaths. All the executive rules and internal regulations conform to the new law.

As for ZOMO, Minister Pudysz upheld the written explanation he had given Deputy Kopczynski earlier. Apart from providing for services in the regular Armed Forces, the 1967 law on the general duty to defend the country also provides for services in other armed formations, which include ZOMO. ZOMO was formed in 1957, and originally consisted of professional cadres. On

7 September 1989, the interior minister decreed the abolition of ZOMO and its replacement by preventive units stationed in 22 voivodships. The tasks of these units include protecting the life, health, and property of citizens; keeping order at sports and cultural events; keeping similar order at mass meetings at the request of their organizers; searching for dangerous criminals; and combating terrorism. Most of the 7,300 redundant ZOMO officers have been posted to road traffic duties.

Antoni Jasinski, vice minister of national defense, continued on behalf of the government. He said that the duty to undergo military service can be discharged in various ways, and the law places service in armed formations that are not part of the regular army on a par with service in the Army itself. In addition, last year the possibility of alternative service was created for people whose political or moral convictions prevent them from bearing arms. In this way, Poland has discharged the obligations that stem from the International Treaty on Human and Civic Rights.

Replying to Deputy Kopczynski's suggestion that a steady decrease in the size of the Army in favor of the militia affects external security, Minister Jasinski said that when recruits are drafted, the needs of the Armed Forces are met first, the needs of the economy second, and the needs of other armed formations last.

The explanations provided by the Interior Ministry and National Defense Ministry representatives caused a brief debate.

Deputy Marian Kowal (OKP) said that if the new oath is not administered to military cadres of long standing, these cadres will defend socialism in future, not the country. In reply, Deputy Zenon Kulaga (PZPR), an army colonel, said that the old oath did contain the clause "faithfulness to the Polish people," and that he was very moved when he took it.

Deputy Andrzej Kern (PZPR) said that unless Deputy Kopczynski's suggestions are accepted, some Interior Ministry officers will be bound by the old oath, and some by the new. A crisis of conscience could ensue under certain circumstances. He suggested an alternative solution—an amendment to the law, permitting officers of long-standing to retake the oath in its new version.

Deputy Barbara Blida (PZPR) protested at the way the SB was being attacked, pointing out that this service has a very difficult task to perform at a time of cadre shortages and poor technical equipment.

Deputy Zbigniew Janas (OKP) rejected this statement. OKP deputies are not attacking the Interior Ministry, he said. They are only saying that Interior Ministry officers should serve the people and be respected by the people. The point is that they should be able to perform their service with a clear conscience.

This exchange of views, not acceptable to everyone even after the government's explanations, ended the first item on the agenda of deputies motions.

Katyn Families

The next motion was delivered by Deputy Andrzej Lapicki (OKP). He read a letter from Katyn families—the immediate relatives of Polish officers murdered in Katyn. These relatives insist that the government adopt an official stance vis-a-vis the question of Stalin's and the Soviet state's responsibility for the Katyn atrocity. They call for the appointment of a special commission to discover the perpetrators of this atrocity and permit Poland to undertake special measures on USSR territory, and another special commission to discuss with the Soviet Union the question of compensation which the Katyn families are due. Also, the site of the massacre and cemetery, say the relatives, should be placed under Poland's control, and the Soviet Union should facilitate visits to the site by relatives.

Boleslaw Kulski, secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry, gave a reply. The government is paying careful attention to this motion and to any letters from families of Katyn victims, he said. We fully share and understand their feelings. We also consider it necessary to reveal the whole truth behind this atrocity as quickly as possible, provide suitable redress to the victims and their families, and punish those responsible.

This painful issue has not escaped the attention of the Polish authorities, not even in recent years, said B. Kulski. The well-known Polish-Soviet declaration of 21 April 1987 marked the beginning of broader publicity of this issue. An important stage in Poland's repeated presentation of this problem was marked by W. Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow last April.

The government too has been acting energetically. In his 7 March statement, the government spokesman said that according to Polish and Western sources, which we conveyed to the Soviet side, the atrocity was committed by the Stalinist People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD]. Also known is the presentation to the Soviet side of documentation which includes criticism of the so-called Burdenko communique and of the Soviet special commission which issued its findings in January 1944.

We have asked the Soviet side several times to reveal all the details of the atrocity. The last time we did so was in July. At the same time, we demanded access to Soviet archives, including material on the fate of the Polish officers who were interned in the Ostashkov, Starobelsk, and Kozhelsk camps. We stressed that at a time when Poland and international public opinion are convinced as to who the real perpetrators are, the Soviet side should not procrastinate any longer in revealing the details.

The Polish Government, B. Kulski continued, shares the views contained in the letters from the relatives of the victims, views which have also been expressed in various statements and articles, whereby the Katyn atrocity possesses not just a moral dimension, but a social, political, and legal dimension as well.

What is important is that, in accordance with the domestic legislation of both countries and the relevant UN convention of 1968, which both countries signed, there is no cover up of the war atrocities we are dealing with. In this connection, I beg to inform the House and Polish public opinion that the Polish Government has suggested to the Soviet side the appointment of an extraordinary intergovernmental special commission under the aegis for the justice ministers of both countries. The commission's purpose would be to resolve the Katyn atrocity completely and urgently, identify and punish its perpetrators, and settle the question of compensation. We expect this special commission to deal with every aspect of the deputy's motion. It emerges from the talks between both sides that this commission will be set up in the nearest future.

B. Kulski promised that the Sejm would be continuously informed of this commission's work. The relevant PPR bodies competent in the matter of investigating war crimes and crimes against humanity have prepared statements for the attention of their Soviet counterparts.

Nothing will undo the tragedy of Katyn, B. Kulski continued. This is all the more reason why compensation is a debt that has to be paid. Without awaiting further decisions, the Polish side has taken steps which meet basic humanitarian expectations halfway, albeit to a small degree. The families of those who perished abroad are already visiting the sites of their death. Urns containing the ashes of victims have been ceremoniously laid to rest on Polish soil. A cross has been installed in Katyn. Religious ceremonies have taken place there and are still doing so.

The government will spare no effort to bring about a complete disclosure of the truth in accordance with the expectations of all Poles; arrange redress for their victims and their families; and pass judgment on the perpetrators.

Everyone, in this hall and in the country, feels the weight of the tragedy of those years equally. It is not easy to dispel these feelings, especially when each month reveals new facts, such as the latest news about the shooting of Polish soldiers in the village of Kalety. However, relating the past to the present, on the one hand we should do everything we can to settle all our debts of history and accord compensation to the victims and their families, and, on the other hand, we should always remember that it would be a great belated triumph for those responsible for these atrocities if these events were to cast too long and dark a shadow over present and future relations with our eastern neighbor, especially today, when, for the first time in decades, the Soviet leadership itself has opened the door to an objective view of the past.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I hear the truth about the Katyn atrocity being discussed inside the Sejm for the first time, even though it is not the full truth, said Deputy Lapicki. Our countrymen have been demanding this for decades. The minister's reply may be considered an official Polish Government stance on the responsibility of the Stalinist NKVD for this atrocity. This is the most painful national injury in our history, and it requires compensation. In particular, the question of material compensation is urgent, because it involves people of advanced age—murdered men's wives who have spent their entire lives in the shadow of Katyn. [passage omitted]

The Tasks of the SB [Security Service]

In reply to a motion from Deputy Zbigniew Janas on the tasks currently being implemented by the SB, Zbigniew Pudusz, vice minister of internal affairs, spoke again.

The SB's basic path of action remains a consolidation of the state's security and the protection of its basic interests against external threats, he said. The changes in our country are having an impact on the scope of the SB's tasks. The point is that under the new sociopolitical conditions—a system of parliamentary democracy and a broad coalition government—the Interior Ministry should discharge its tasks in an appropriate manner.

The narrowing down of the SB's scope results from the changes to the legal system, for example the May 1989 amendment to some of the provisions of the penal code, whereby there are fewer crimes and offenses that are considered political. The SB's scope has also been reduced by the normalization of relations between the church and state and between the state and other religions, and the creation of a firm foundation beneath these relations.

Following a decision by the interior minister in August, changes to the SB's structure have been made. Among other things, SB units in charge of the so-called superstructure and religions were abolished.

In the present situation, the SB's chief tasks are considered to be the protection of the state constitutional order, the rights and liberties of citizens, and the national economy. This involves a major change in this service's scope. In addition, the service is involved in fighting espionage, terrorism, and economic crime.

Z. Pudysz also said that the staff of the Interior Ministry has been cut by 2,400, and that these people have been posted to MO units in the field. Soon, the staff of the SB will be reduced by 700, of whom 150 will be posted to the Warsaw Internal Affairs Office.

Answering a question about the function of SB units inside work places, Z. Pudysz denied that such units exist. He also provided a negative answer to the question whether the SB is still gathering material against the opposition and "Solidarity," saying that such activity is not being undertaken. He added that there have been no political prisoners in Poland since 1987, and that no proceedings concerning political offenses are being conducted today.

Z. Pudysz's reply, especially the last sentence, did not satisfy Deputies Z. Janas, Edward Mueller, and Janusz Okrzesik (all of them from the OKP). Referring to their very own experience, they spoke of the presence of SB officers at election meetings, the existence of a permanent SB unit at the Number 1 Division of the Small-Capacity Car Factory, and the bugging of the election committee in Slupsk.

In answer to these accusations, Z. Pudysz repeated that there are no permanent SB units in work places, and that the SB is not gathering material against "Solidarity" members. As for the Slupsk affair, he said that the prosecutor's office has not issued any charges, therefore he had nothing to say on this subject.

Constitutional Law Expert on Democratic Changes

AU0610133789 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Janina Zakrzewska, professor of constitutional law, by Ewa Matynia Bonik: "We Are A Country In A Transition Stage"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Bonik] Our country is passing through profound changes in its sociopolitical system. What are the essential characteristics of these changes?

[Zakrzewska] If it were not for fear of sounding pompous, I would simply call it a change of the political order. How else can one describe the democratic process? Events are happening so fast that we cannot appreciate their real significance. It was not so long ago that we had strikes in the coastal cities (and other parts of the country). There were the "round table" discussions which, putting aside the aspects that divided the two sides, tried to find a way out of the dramatic situation in which the country found itself after 45 years of unsuccessful government. Spring saw the elections and the new electoral law. Up to 6 months ago, one could have wondered whether decisions were not being taken too hastily; whether changes to the system (the president, the Senate) were not being implemented too rapidly; whether the election date was not too near. Today, all those things are history. The result of the election, exceeding the expectations of one side and totally surprising the other, really showed society's choice and the hope it had in "Solidarity," and was a judgment on all those who had been in power until then.

[Bonik] But over 40 percent of the electorate did not avail themselves of their right to vote.

[Zakrzewska] I am familiar with this argument, but I do not find it persuasive. First, the figure is closer to 30 percent. The electoral roll was not updated for years. This was pointed out by the State Electoral Commission. Second, many of the people who still figure on this list are long dead. This exaggerated the figure of absentee voters. Third, and in my opinion this is crucial for the analysis of the turnout, a turnout of about 70 percent is, in our conditions, something quite normal. The complaints of voter absenteeism that are made by some people who will not face the truth, show they are clutching at straws. The reality is the new situation which is evident from the new alignment of forces in the Sejm and Senate; the way these chambers function; the creation of a new institution of the presidency; and, if we take the last few weeks, the formation of a new government led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

[Bonik] In comparison with other countries, where the presidency has a longer tradition, does our president have wider powers?

[Zakrzewska] The creation of a presidency that has such wide powers, hitherto unknown in Polish democratic tradition, gave cause for concern, even at the "round table." In countries where the president has similarly wide powers he is usually elected in a different way. Straight comparisons tend to be deceptive. More important today will be how the arrangement works in practice, how the relationship between the president and the government, led by the premier, develops. The new constitution will give the final form of the constitutional organs. Just about everything has been said about the necessity for adopting one, and politicians and lawyers are busily engaged with this. The need for this has been the subject of discussion for many years. What we need is a document that reflects social expectations and the state's democratic political order. Speed and forethought are both needed. A new period of Polish political history has begun, and the most important point now is not to waste this chance of building a new political order. I believe that nearly everyone identifies with the sentiment expressed by Jerzy Turowicz, namely, that the process of passing to democracy is still fragile and fraught with danger. Nevertheless, only this process gives us hope and the possibility of building a state that its citizens can truly regard as their own.

[Bonik] The sweeping change in the state's political bodies; the formation of a new government; the election of a president; the Senate; are very important, but by the mere fact of their existence does not decide anything. More fundamental for the future of Poland is the gravity of our economic situation, which will be decisive. Do you see a way out of our economic predicament?

[Zakrzewska] I think that the political and economic changes are closely linked. Without fundamental changes in the economy, our political changes may also be threatened, and especially their real value to the citizen. If the government—the first government for years that has society's support—succeeds in creating conditions that encourage citizens, despite the drastic fall in the standard of living, the way out of our predicament may be possible. The premier has publicly stated an openness toward social initiatives, although the implementation of this will not be easy, or simple. The people who in the past exhorted the citizens of this country to adopt a positive attitude to the state, did everything in order to alienate the citizens from the state. This situation will not change overnight, but we now have an opportunity to accept the state as our own and search out ways along which the action of the citizen can find expression. I am thinking of various forms of self government or self management which will give people the opportunity of deciding their own affairs. I believe that the dynamism of the people—people whose stand decided the result of the June election, and the fact that at long last they have their own premier, deputies and senators, and ministers—will fully support the state authorities in their progress toward democracy.

[Bonik] Do you not think that we are now dealing with a new generation; a generation that is not burdened to such an extent by the bad experiences?

[Zakrzewska] Absolutely. A new generation is coming into the arena, for whom the founders of "Solidarity" belong to a historical past. It is a new generation and it has its own experiences and different expectations. Great things are happening in the Sejm, yet a few streets away, at the embassies of the United States and Canada young people are applying to emigrate. These are the people who do not see any future for themselves in their own country. Exhorting them to stay will not have any effect, but the hope that something may change will influence the young to remain, rather than choose mass emigration. Only the hope that the premier will be successful in implementing the projects presented in the Sejm and which apply to this sphere, can do this.

[Bonik] Are we ceasing to be a socialist state, and, to use the terminology of the past, departing from the principles of socialism?

[Zakrzewska] I do not want to be accused of trying to evade your question, but in all honesty I cannot regard the system we have lived under for the last 45 years to have been a socialist one. It is no mere coincidence that the West coined the phrase: "real socialism," in order to describe our system as a direct opposite of the one which in the minds and imagination of many people means democracy, equality, and progress. It is impossible to talk of departing from something that never existed in the first place. The principle of human rights, equality, and social justice are dear to my heart. These principles were never realized in our country. The essence does not lie in slogans, but in creating a democratic system, that is to say, a system which is not imposed, within which its citizens can live normally, identify with it, and realize their socialist ideals within its framework. I return to what I said earlier, namely, we have to create conditions which permit society to self-organize. We must use the law on association to advantage, pass legislation on public assembly, and amend the constitution where it refers to political parties. Given the present structure of parliament, the forces in the government, and a premier who is accepted by society, everything seems possible. If we fail to activate social forces then I fear that even the present arrangement of the state's political organs may prove insufficient to effect a lasting democratic transformation.

[Bonik] Are you saying people have to be given greater rights and obligations?

[Zakrzewska] One only feels responsible for something, when one can exert some influence over that thing. In 1976, for example, great stress was laid on the link between rights and duties in a way that I regard as quite absurd, namely, it was being suggested that one could only have rights when one did one's duty. Such reasoning is unknown to any democracy. What is important today is the creation of conditions in which the citizen will feel jointly responsible for his surroundings.

[Boniek] For 40 years we have lived in a country dominated by one political party. Now the opposition is in power. Can one truly say that the opposition is really governing?

[Zakrzewska] I think the opposition has had real influence on the government, right from the day of the elections to the new government led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki. This is a completely novel situation, and one would like to think that it will develop normally, that is to say, we hope to achieve what only Spain has achieved, namely, a peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Up till now the international situation seems to have been favorable to us.

[Bonik] The transformations taking place in our country may cause greater divisions between people and engender fears that the state will cease to exercise its welfare function.

[Zakrzewska] The fear of social division is real, because despite plans, it will not be easy to eliminate monopolistic or old intermediate structures. The government has promised to break up these structures, and one has to trust the government. As regards divisions in society, I regard the lack of a guaranteed minimum financial support, guaranteeing that there are no people living below this minimum, as more important than pay disparities. There is no need to fear private education, or a private health sector, in a situation where every child has guaranteed access to free and good state education, and every citizen to a free national health service, but I fully understand people's apprehensions. I do not agree with the view that the state is abandoning its welfare function. Were we ever a welfare state? What sort of welfare state is this, where there is a chronic shortage of places in nurseries and kindergartens, where state social care for the elderly is nonexistent in practice, where the school classes are packed with 40 and more children, and where there is a lack of hospital beds? I have cited the results of research conducted by Professor Antoni Rajkiewicz, who dispelled this welfare myth a long time ago. Unless, of course we equate a welfare state with a state in which the citizen is rendered impotent and lives in the belief that the state will do everything for him. The most important thing is to create possibilities of action by the citizen.

and the state itself must not abandon the fundamental principles that all states ought to have vis-a-vis its own citizens.

Commission Urges Investigation of Priests' Deaths

LD0610135489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] The Senatorial Commission for Human Rights and the Rule of Law at a closed meeting has discussed the matter of the murders of Fathers Stefan Niedzielak, Stanislaw Suchowolec, and Sylwester Zych. They adopted a standpoint which states:

Three cases of sudden deaths of Catholic priests, known for their consistent and active opposition, have occurred this year. Public opinion is shocked by those events, which require a particularly precise and comprehensive investigation. In connection with this, the Commission for Human Rights and the Rule of Law has decided to hear accounts by Kazimierz (Sulka) a former officer of the Security Service, on extralegal activities by the Ministry of Interior, in which he participated.

On 8 September and 5 October this year he gave an account to the commission together with Father Adolf Chojnacki, against whom such actions were carried out. The Commission for Human Rights and the Rule of Law requests the Extraordinary Sejm Commission appointed to investigate the activity of the Ministry of Interior to take particular charge of the cases which are pending, as well as sending to the commission protocols and reports of the accounts by Kazimierz (Sulka) and Father Adolf Chojnacki.

Daily Views New Hungarian Marxist-Leninist Party

AU0610213189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Oct 89 p 4

["From the Foreign Press—The Marxist-Leninist Workers Party Is Being Created in the Hungarian People's Republic. A Communique Published in Daily MAGYAR NEMZET"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 October (AGERPRES)—The daily, MAGYAR NEMZET, which appears in Budapest, has published a communique on the creation of a new party in the Hungarian People's Republic. The communique emphasizes among other things:

The Presidium of the Hungarian Communist Party, which is being organized, held a meeting at which the events of the past weeks were examined. The Presidium decided to announce the change of the party's name and it will proceed to obtaining the necessary authorization to organize the Marxist-Leninist Workers Party.

The Presidium makes this announcement now, because with every passing day it becomes more and more obvious that none of the parties or movements are appropriately representing the interests of the workers and their families.

Instead of drastically reducing the expenses of the central apparatus and of other non-productive areas, the government tries to obtain ever new funds and gives priority to solutions that harm the workers' situation—the communique emphasizes.

The leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] systematically speak of turning the party into a party of the people by omitting the word socialist more and more often; they talk about a democratic society exclusively dominated by capital in contrast with physical labor. The consequence of this policy will be that differences between social strata will deepen even more, while Hungary will be the country of millionaires and beggars, a situation which we, those who perform physical work—workers and farmers—cannot watch passively.

The communique further emphasizes that the Marxist-Leninist Workers Party rejects the organization of new parties, which focus their attention on intellectuals, and it rejects the compromising attitude of the MSZMP, which, instead of the National Assembly, tries to solve important social problems by political dialogue and brings up historically sensitive subjects, a fact that earns the MSZMP the admiration of Western capitalist powers, but also leads to a split among the socialist countries, the communique stresses.

We favor a better thought-out, appropriate, and efficient implementation of targets and socialist aspirations by seeking new means and methods instead of solutions that were applied so far and proved to be wrong.

We hope that the workers will receive our appeal with interest and, being familiar with our program in detail, will come in great numbers to join the new party, MAGYAR NEMZET writes.

'Wishes of Success' Sent to MSZMP Congress

AU0710151689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0824 GMT 7 Oct 89

["Message of CC of RCP to HSWP Congress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/10/1989—The Romanian Communist Party's [RCP] Central Committee [CC] sent the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] the following message:

Dear Comrades,

The CC of the RCP conveys the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, all Hungarian Communists a comradely salute and good wishes of success to your congress.

We wish congress participants to ensure, through the resolutions they will adopt, the strengthening of party unity on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, the growing role of the party in the further development of your country on the path of socialism, of the steady improvement of the material and spiritual welfare of all people.

We express on this occasion too our hope that, by common efforts, by taking action on the basis of the principles of socialism, equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage the friendly and cooperative ties between the RCP and the HSWP, between Romania and Hungary will develop steadily also in future, for the good and in the interest of both our peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and cooperation internationally.

With comradely regards,

CC of the RCP

Ceausescu Meets Honecker in Berlin

AU0810142989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1356 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, 8/10/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, met and had talks with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, on October 7.

From the RCP, the State Council, the Government of Romania, the Romanian people and from himself, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed Erich Honecker, the CC of the SED, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR a cordial salute and warm congratulations, on the 40th foundation anniversary of the GDR and wishes of new and important successes in the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress in the building of the developed socialist society.

Erich Honecker thanked cordially for the greetings and wishes and conveyed the Romanian Communists, all working people of Romania, wishes of great successes in anticipation of the 14th RCP Congress. President Nicolae Ceausescu's participation in the festivities marking the 40th foundation anniversary of the GDR was shown to be an expression of the high level of the relations of friendship and comradely collaboration between the two parties, states and peoples.

During the meeting, the two party and state leaders exchanged mutual information on the course of socialist construction in the two countries, on the achievements in the construction of the new system. Satisfaction was expressed at the links of close friendship and manifold collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, which develop continually, in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, of summit talks and understandings. The joint wish was expressed to work to extend more the bilateral relations in policy-making, the economy, science and technics and other fields of activity, to take them to a higher level and assert them more as an example of fruitful cooperation between two socialist countries fully engaged in the building of the new system.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker also exchanged views on current issues of the world political life and mostly of the international communist and worker movement, of socialism in general. It was stressed that the RCP and the SED stated in all firmness for the development and improvement of socialism, relying on the Marxist-Leninist principles, of scientific socialism, in keeping with specific conditions in each country.

In context, it was stressed that the collaboration and solidarity among socialist countries, communist and worker parties should strengthen. It was also shown that in the current international circumstances when imperialist circles stepped up their actions against socialism, a firm, resolute position should be adopted rejecting interference in socialist countries' affairs to the end of destabilizing the situation in those countries and the world over. It was emphasized that those activities of imperialism completely ran counter to the international law principles, to the interests of peace and detente.

It was underscored that the collaboration and solidarity among socialist countries, communist and worker parties, among all progressive forces worldwide should strengthen in the struggle for the assertion of a new policy the world over, which should exclude interference in other states' home affairs in any form, help solve the grave issues facing mankind.

Relying on the identity of the two countries' and parties' positions and assessments on the ways to solve the major international issues, Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker reiterated Romania's and GDR's resolve, the RCP's and SED's determination to make an active contribution in the future to the unswerving implementation of the policy of international disarmament and detente, peace and collaboration.

Attends Parade, Reception

AU0810143189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1404 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES 8/10/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, in Berlin to take part in the festivities marking the 40th foundation anniversary of the GDR, attended the military parade in the GDR capital, on October 7.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the GDR Council of State, other party and state leaders of the GDR and heads of foreign delegations took their seats in the Karl Marx Alee Tribune.

President Nicolae Ceausescu also stood next to members of the party and state leadership of the GDR and heads of foreign delegations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu attended a reception given on October 7 by the CC of the SED, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, on the 40th foundation anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

In the Great Hall of the Republic Palace in the Marx-Engels Square were present Erich Honecker, other members of the GDR party and state leadership.

Attending were the foreign delegations in Berlin to take part in the great holiday of the GDR people.

During the reception, President Nicolae Ceausescu cordially conversed with Erich Honecker, with other members of the GDR party and state leadership, with heads of delegations taking part in the celebrations.